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ABSTRACT

This booklet comprises eleven articles selected from a set of papers delivered by a number of professional educators and researchers during seminars arranged in the West Indies and the United States in compliance with the goals of the Caribbean American Scholars Exchange Program. The 11 articles are grouped in 4 sections. The first section regarding cultural and philosophical frameworks, deals with the official languages as opposed to the folk languages in the Caribbean. A second section, labeled missions and directions, focuses on health as an environmental, social, and economic factor; the role and function of the traditionally black colleges; liberal arts or vocational education for the American black; and options for consideration in Caribbean education. Section 3 on political and cultural variances in systems and services, discusses a farmer's cooperative in North Carolina as a model for developing regions, popular and folk vs. classical music instruction and training, human resources development in employment and training, and the media's responsibility in communication needs for varied audiences. The final section is devoted to a transcript of a recorded magnetic tape of a narrative by a "typical Jamaican boy." (RC)

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INTRODUCTION

The selection of papers contained herein, was not made on the basis of what was better or worse among them or of the deliberations -- but merely what was symbolic of the interests and concerns of the participants. These concerns often differed but were integrated in a common desire to better understanding and to contribute ideas to "sometimes" distinct priorities.

It is also in this spirit that the selection is offered, as being representative of the issues that shaped both the formal and informal discussions during the Exchange, and, hopefully, will serve to inspire new inquiries in the future.

A Note to the reader:

We have erred in placing the "Editorial Comments" on each of the following papers subsequent to the articles themselves. It is suggested that these "Editorial Comments" be read prior to the actual papers. For the convenience of the reader, the "Editorial Comments" are listed as follows:

Willis Racine	pp. 22-23
Rawe Farley	p. 34
Prezell R. Robinson	pp. 50-51
Chester M. Hedgepeth, Jr.	pp. 65-66
Roy Bryce-LaPorte	pp. 73-74
Basil G. Coley	pp. 94-95
Huel D. Perkins	pp 105-106
Juana Lyon	pp. 119-120
William H. Dilday, Jr.	p. 130
Eddie Burke	p. 143

FOREWORD

In December 1972, the late Elizabeth Brinton and Mariada Bourgin of the Department of State, CU/ARA, called on two officials of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in the not-yet completed Washington Bureau. Amidst the dissonance of hammers, saws, plumbing, and painting activities, four minds converged and conceived the concept of the Caribbean Exchange Program which produced this collection of papers. The two officials of the Fund, Mabel Smythe and Marie Gadsden, committed themselves to the task of implementing a professional dialogue among Caribbean professionals and academicians which would promote understanding, interrelationships, mutually beneficial research, and ultimately institutional linkages and cooperation. With the formal opening of the Washington Bureau, the Phelps-Stokes Fund was able to interest a young Haitian program officer, Yves Savain, from the New York office of the Fund, to assume significant responsibility in the implementation of the concept. Mr. Savain and Dr. Gadsden together chartered the course of the Exchange with considerable guidance and support from Mr. Ernest Goodman and Mrs. Bourgin in the attempt to fulfill the program goals from the point of view of the agency, the institutions participating and the federal funding unit. The result pleased all of the above-mentioned groups.

One of the stated goals of the exchange was the issuance of a set of papers delivered by the professional educators and researchers during the Exchange seminars in the U.S. and in the West Indies. The eleven articles made available here have been selected from among the entire range of oral presentations and formal papers. Five of these have been taken exclusively from the seminar tape library and thus reflect the easy informality of the seminar exchange. Five of the presentations were the contributions of consultants who gave generously of their time and intellect -- without benefit or expectation of fee. The remaining six articles represent the efforts of six participants benefitting from the actual exchange.

A half year has elapsed since the end of the initial exchange program. It has not been a simple matter to assemble the documents, have them edited and decide on an appropriate format for making the essence of the Caribbean Exchange available to a wider audience. A large share of the credit for the final product ... and

the blame for its limitations ... must go to the Phelps-Stokes Fund staff members both in New York and in Washington. They have given excellent cooperation. Special appreciation goes to Mrs. Blanche Case who accepted the tremendous task of coordinating and administering the publication project from drafts to finished documents. Working with her were Dolores Mortimer and Karen Corbin with Dr. Gadsden and Mr. Savain never far from the continuous process of winnowing and developing the present publication.

The final pieces are the first in what we hope will be a series of such position papers relevant to the Caribbean milieu and to those academic elements in the U.S. that have tangible research interests and professional educational concerns with the issues addressed here. Our attempt has not been to resolve problems, but rather to promote intelligent inquiry and mutual understanding to the benefit of students and educators both in the Caribbean and in the U.S., as well as to the benefit of larger communities in all the areas of the Exchange -- or even in the larger world community.

Because the selected papers were produced in the context of an ongoing interdisciplinary exchange dialogue, we have provided transitional commentary on the articles, both to share with the reader some of the vital reality of the actual professional interchange and seminar milieu and to assist the reader in sensing the nature of the total experience and its sequential format. Often within the mood and magic of the sessions, the materials documented here were illuminated and enriched by the very dynamics of the group process and by the provocative, intellectual debates engendered by each presentation. This infectious atmosphere was the life-blood of the seminars - first in the Bowie setting of the Maryland countryside and, finally, at the Mona campus in the Kingston, Jamaica suburbs. Each subsequent segment fed the next one and reached back to the preceding input. The transition pieces, therefore, are intended to provide the reading catalyst to promote the same sort of continuum as did the discussion and debate which are not captured here.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund was privileged to have the opportunity to serve both the institutions and the Department of State in such a venture. The full cooperation of Mr. Richard Fox of the Department of State, U.S. missions in the Caribbean and foreign missions in Washington made the venture not only an exciting one but also a provocative, challenging and

informative one. As we implement the second exchange funded by the Department of State, we hope to share these papers with future Exchange participants and increase the range of knowledge and commitment to the task before us and to augment the research which is necessary to address intelligently the human, social, educational and cultural challenges to be met.

Taken From Taped Proceedings
Willis and Racine

FOLK VS. FORMAL LANGUAGE IN THE CARIBBEAN

The Caribbean is virtually a linguist's paradise, not only because of the tremendous variety in the languages spoken there--from Sranan-Tongo in Surinam to the French creole of Haiti--but also because of the evolution of new languages such as Saramakkan and Papiamentu. These varied languages raise certain political, social and ideological questions, such as the relationship between language and social class, the levels of prestige of certain languages in a given social context and language as a sign of ethnic identification. Language, of course, is more than mere verbal communication; on the one hand, it may connote a whole range of cultural differences, as say, those implied when one speaks of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean or the English-speaking Antilles, and, on the other hand, it may serve as a kind of objective correlative, identifying, at once, the speaker's race, social position, educational achievement, profession and even sex.

On the socio-political level, language may serve to unify or divide, and it is within this context that we want to consider folk versus formal language in the Caribbean. Isabel of Spain clearly understood the significance of language in forging a national consciousness, when in the fifteenth century she made Castillian and Spanish synonymous. At the same time that she established Catholicism as the one official religion of Spain by expelling the Jews and Moslems and by creating the Inquisition to root out unorthodox religions, she also encouraged the use of Castilian to the detriment of Catalan, Basque and Gallician-Portugese. Her grandson, Philip V., King of Spain and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, extended the concept of language as an instrument of political power. Although not a native speaker of Spanish, Philip established his adopted tongue as the lingua franca of Europe, insisting that all the monarchs and ecclesiastical potentates of Europe use Spanish in their political dealings with his country. The relationship between language and political unity has become even

clearer in the twentieth century when the newly independent African nations have encouraged use of the vernacular or indigenous languages as an import tool in the creation of a national identity.

While language may serve to unify people on some kind of common linguistic base, it may also serve as a divisive element, underscoring differences of race, class or caste, separating the slave from his master, the educated from the illiterate or, as Malcolm said, "the house nigger from the field nigger." When one speaks of folk language--the language of the people--and formal or standard language, one creates just such a dichotomy. In the Caribbean, one understands formal language to be that which was brought into the area by the French, Spanish, English or Dutch settlers who migrated to the West Indies, while folk language would include the various creolized languages which are spoken in the rural areas or in the urban barrios. Let us examine for a moment the evolution of the folk or creole languages.

Very little is known of the actual beginnings of the folk language, because, of course, this was a spoken and not a written language, so there are few written records of how people spoke. Douglas Taylor, in his article "New Languages for Old in the West Indies," records the accounts of the first French missionaries who described how they communicated with slaves. In the mid-seventeenth century, for example one priest said: "The Blacks... rapidly learn the language of the Europeans, a language which is deliberately corrupted to facilitate its comprehension." His use of the word "corrupted" implies a value judgment in regard to the use of language. Another priest states: "We adapt ourselves to their (meaning of slaves) way of speaking." So there evolved a kind of pidgin, or a simplified version of the European tongue, which was used by the master in communication with the slave. Many linguists, such as Douglas Taylor, R. A. Hall, and Beryl Bailey suspect that the pidgin language originated not in the islands of the West Indies, but in the slave factories off the coast of West Africa where the Portuguese slavers developed a kind of trade language to facilitate communication with Africans. Whatever their origins, these pidgin languages eventually became genuine lingua franca as they were used for general communication between the various nationalities. The heavy and continuous influx of African slaves into the Caribbean during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resulted in the

establishment in the West Indies of two very different linguistic structures -- the Indo-European and the African (including the varied languages of West Africa).

The similarities between creolized languages -- Gullah of the South Carolina and Georgia coast, French Creole and Jamaican Creole -- have been noted before. Some linguists maintain that these creolized languages combine a European-derived lexicon or vocabulary with an African-derived syntax or structure, although earlier researchers concluded just the opposite, that the languages have an African lexicon superimposed on a European syntax. Earlier analyses reflect certain cultural values and biases. For example, the early studies that were done on the Gullah dialect of South Carolina, tended to negate any kind of African influence. The writers concluded that Gullah had an obvious parallel with 17th or 18th century English; they thought these were archaic forms rather than African forms.

Part of the problem in this kind of research is that there is a subjective interaction between the researcher and the subject. Quite early, these creolized languages began to serve as denominators of class and race, with the languages of the conquerors -- Spanish, French, English -- assuming the position of the upper or dominant languages. Taylor notes in a 1956 article, "Language Contacts in the West Indies," that when there is inequality of social or political status, most of the effort to reach mutual understanding is likely to be left to the under group.

The terms "upper and "under" carry varied connotations of superior and inferior; it might be preferable to think in terms of horizontal strata of language. Taylor states that the conquered must assimilate the language of the conquerors. In other words, the creolized languages must assimilate toward the European languages. As the African slave became more successful in communication, the more his native language became Europeanized. His creolized language had the status of an inferior dialect of the master speech; consequently, it was subjected, according to Taylor (and note the use of certain changed words), "to much development and improvement."

Whenever one language comes to be associated with the ruling class, and another with that of a lower socio-economic level, as happened, for example, in eleventh

century England, when the conquering Normans retained the French language, while Anglo-Saxon was spoken by the masses of the people, social mobility or movement upward on the social scale becomes dependent upon an individual's ability to master the upper language. This phenomenon is discernible in the Caribbean, among the so-called Mullatto class, which strived to emmulate the Creoles or the Caribbean-born Europeans. Language, then, became an important social denominator, as Mullattos rejected folk language in favor of the standard language of the ruling class. The intermediate social class was often bilingual; Beryl Bailey, for example, points to the fact that members of the more advantaged class could often understand the Creole language, even though in their daily social contacts they used the formal language. They were loath to admit they could also speak the creolized language because Creole was not socially acceptable. Consequently, the movement in the first period of language development was characterized by an increased assimilation of the European or standard languages.

In the past one hundred years, however, there has been a greater understanding and appreciation of folk language. This shift is the result, of various factors; (1) on the political level, the creation of an independent Black nation, Haiti, in the 19th century, and the emergence of a national group consciousness and race pride, (2) on the cultural level, the movement of the folk language from a purely spoken to a written language, and (3) on a scientific level, the studies of linguists, anthropologists, and historians have resulted in an objective reappraisal of folk culture, without recourse to the negative value judgments of earlier social commentators. The most important single factor in the reevaluation of folk language, indeed of the whole folk culture, is the movement toward political independence in the West Indies which began in Haiti in the first part of the nineteenth century, when a series of sporadic slave insurrections erupted into a full-scale war of independence. The creation of an independent Black state in the New World had significant repercussions; whites in other slave-holding countries became increasingly oppressive. South Carolina, for example, prohibited the importation of slaves from the West Indies, because slave masters believed that such slaves would incite Carolina's Blacks to rebel. Slave insurrections did indeed increase following the successful overthrow of the French army in the Islands, and some free Blacks in the United States made plans to emigrate to Haiti.

The War of Independence in Cuba, however, did not have the same racial overtones that it did in Haiti, and although independence was achieved in part through the efforts of Maceo, Crombet, and their Black followers, the struggle for power existed primarily between whites -- the "peninsulares" who favored colonization under Spain and the "criollos" who fought for independence. Following independence in 1898, Cuban patriots came to the traumatic conclusion that their island had become an American colony. In Cuba and Puerto Rico, the elevation of folk language and culture to a level of respectability was primarily a cultural rather than a political phenomenon, although the folk language was later used by poets such as Nicolás Guillén to create a revolutionary climate through appeal to the proletariat. I suspect that in the English-speaking Caribbean, political and cultural forces operated together to force a reappraisal of folk language, and that the struggle for independence, which reached its apogee during the 50's and 60's simply accelerated this tendency. The political significance of folk language has assumed great importance in the 20th century. For one thing, it underscored the rejection of all that was European: language, custom, dress, religion, culture. Folk language became an "in" language, which was shared by members of the same economic or ethnic group. It was an esoteric language which excluded all non-members, all non-initiates. Political leaders found it expedient, and, indeed, necessary to communicate in the language that was used in the fields, or in the factories and slums of Havana, Kingston, and Port au Prince. One of the young exciting poets of Surinam, Robin Dobru, explained in a seminar on poetry at Carifesta in 1972, the political implications in the use of Sranan, a vernacular language in Surinam and the rejection of Dutch as a literary language. Dobru and other poet/revolutionaries of the country, want, like Don L. Lee and other young Afro-American poets, to communicate to people on the level of an "I", "you" -- a "we" language -- rather than in "their" European language.

The second phenomenon that elevated the status of folk language was the use of such language in literary works. Two significant things happened once the spoken language was written. First of all, the language became systematized or regularized. That is to say, that phonology, orthography, lexicon and syntax tended to become standardized as poets and novelists (learned people themselves) transcribed the spoken language that they heard. Secondly, interest in folk language and folk culture increased among people -- writers, sociologists linguists -- who had previously dismissed such

language as unlearned at best, and uncouth at worst. The use of folk language, or what is more commonly called dialect, became widespread during the 20's and 30's. In Harlem, the works of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Countee Cullen, and Langston Hughes were liberally sprinkled with Black dialect, while the Afro-Cuban poets of the Caribbean also reflected in their writing and picturesque, racy and often humorous features of the folk languages. The spoken word of the people, of the masses, thus became a means of literary communication.

The third factor that gave impetus to the widespread use of folk language was a scientific interest in the African substrata of American life, which emerged during the 30's and 40's. When the Cubans, for example, reappraised their island, searching for some kind of unique national identity, they discovered some very deep African roots. They explored the concept of the mulatto, the merger of European and African cultures which resulted in an Afro-Cuban culture.

In ending somewhat abruptly my remarks, I would like to entertain comments or some questions or some discussion in terms of what I see as the differences between the folk language and the standard language, the causes of various value judgments being set one against the other, what I see as the change in the judgmental view of language, particularly the creolized languages in the Caribbean.

And, I would like to know -- since I have traveled very superficially in the Caribbean, yet I do have this feeling from working with West Indian students and from contact with West Indian scholars, -- if this elevation of folk language to the fore is tremendously important. I have seen it in the novels that I have read from the English-speaking West Indies. I am more familiar with the Spanish, but certainly in the dialogue that takes place within the novel, it is the folk language which is being communicated. This brings home the point that the creative writer, as he begins to write about his country, has a kind of bilingualism. In other words, he writes in the third person, in the standard formal language which he has learned in school, but he can also shift over into the folk language that he had heard and he is familiar with, and which he can speak in most cases. So you do get this intense kind of bilingualism.

In the United States, in Florida, and perhaps other ports of the country, there is this concept of bilingualism in the teaching of the native language. In other words, teachers speak of Black English on the one hand, and formal or standard English on the other, and these are taught bilingually. We may or may not think this is a good thing, but it happens.

Taken From Taped Proceedings
Willis and Racine

Dr. Willis' presentation seems to have covered quite a broad range of the official-folk language situation in the Caribbean. I will briefly make some remarks which I hope are not repetitious of what she said.

There are basically four so-called official languages in the Caribbean: Spanish, French, English and Dutch. There are about the same number of folk languages in the Caribbean: a French-based Creole, an English based Creole, a Spanish Portuguese-based Creole, and a now almost extinct, Dutch-based Creole, so my observations will be limited to those folk languages which are usually regarded as Creoles.

However, the geographical distribution of these vernaculars does not necessarily correspond to the official language to which they are related. Take, for instance, the Dependencies of the Netherlands: the territories of Curacao, Aruba and Bonaire. They are under the Dutch Flag. However, in Curacao, Bonaire, and Aruba, the folk language is not the Dutch Creole -- Spanish-Portuguese Creole known as Papiamentu.

Consider the territory of Surinam, also Dutch; the folk-language spoken there is an English-based Creole. It is not a Dutch-based Creole. The only place where a Dutch-based Creole is spoken is in the Virgin Islands, and the population who speaks it, is slowly disappearing because it is made up of older people. Therefore, we do not always have a one-to-one correspondence between the official language and the popular language.

The Islands of Grenada, Trinidad, Dominica and St. Lucia have English as their official language. However, the folk language in these islands is a French-based Creole.

What accounts for such a situation? One of the reasons for it is certainly the changes in political affiliation and administrative flags experienced throughout colonial times. Another important factor is the constant intercommunication that has always existed in the Caribbean: migration and import of settlers, freemen and slaves, from one island to another, from one territory of the Caribbean to another.

Consequently, quite often, the people, the folk themselves, preferred to retain for wider communication a language with which they were familiar rather than adopt a new one, and/or allow it to undergo a relexification based on the new official language imposed on them. Of particular interest is the case of Trinidad with a French-based Creole. Although Trinidad was never under the French flag, it maintained constant relationships with other French colonies, and, at the end of the eighteenth century, a large number of French planters migrated there with their slaves.

A review of the distribution of the vernacular languages of the Caribbean reveals the following grouping: French-based Creoles are spoken in Southern Louisiana, in Haiti, in Guadeloupe, Martinique, Dominica, Trinidad, Grenada, Saint Lucia and French Guyana. Although there are some differences among the various dialects, most of them being of a lexical nature, are all mutually intelligible. The Spanish-Portuguese-based Creole is spoken in Curacao, Aruba and Bonaire. The English-based Creole is spoken in Surinam with two main varieties which are called Sranan and Sramakkan. The Dutch-based Creole, also called Negerhollands, is spoken in the Virgin Islands of St. John, St. Thomas and St. Croix.

Another thing that seems important in the discussion of official and folk or vernacular, is languages in the Caribbean and the function each one plays in the speech community.

In these communities, there is a large number of monolingual speakers of the folk language who have a working knowledge of that language, exclusively. This group consists mostly of people who have had little or no formal education of any kind. There are also various types of bilinguals, some know both the folk language and restricted areas of the official language; their degree of bilingualism increases as their education increases. Others are completely bilingual in both the official language and the folk language.

It is difficult to believe that any person who is a native of a Caribbean country knows nothing of the vernacular language of his country. I do not believe that; because even foreigners who live in the Caribbean countries find it necessary for their everyday business to know or understand the vernacular, even though they do not necessarily become fluent in it. I can recall

the case of the French nuns in my boarding school. Most of their contacts were with the girls that attended the school; the girls spoke both French and Creole; the nuns spoke only French. Whenever one of us started speaking Creole, they quickly came by to find out what was being said, because they were trying their best to understand us. They knew that we were speaking Creole either because we did not want them to know what we were saying or because we were just resorting to our regular habit of speaking Creole.

I remember, also, as a child, being prohibited from speaking Creole. At school, at recess time, if a child was heard speaking Creole, he was punished or he had to write a given Latin sentence a number of times, for example. However, all of us knew that Creole was our language, and we always resorted to speaking it, whenever we wanted to feel at ease and comfortable.

The functional distribution of the vernacular and the official language sometimes leads to a situation in which the two languages function in a complimentary distribution in the case of the bilingual speaker who has a working knowledge of both languages. This special kind of language relationship, where each language plays a definite role, has been described by linguists as "diglossia". This sociolinguistics term, modeled on the French "diglossie", two languages, was introduced by Charles A. Ferguson. Ferguson outlines different features which seem relevant to this classification, namely function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, or vocabulary, and phonology. One of the most important features of diglossia is specialization of function for what is considered the "high" language and the "low" language, the folk language.

In one set of situations, says Ferguson, "only the 'high' language is appropriate, and in another, only the 'low' language, with two sets over-lapping only very slightly". The "high" language is usually regarded as superior to the "low" language; more beautiful, more "logical" and thus enjoys more prestige. It also has at its disposal a large literary heritage. While the "low" language is applied as a native language, the "high" is learned through formal education.

Whereas the "high" language is a standard with its grammars, dictionaries, and all kinds of norms, the "low" language has often not yet been codified, and no

sets of rules exist to prevent wide variation. There are always extensive differences between the grammatical structures of the "high" and "low" languages, with the "low" language usually lacking some of the features of the "high" language and having a consequently simpler structure than the corresponding one in "high".

Generally, the bulk of the vocabulary of the "high" and "low" is shared, despite the variations in forms and differences of use and meaning. But there are many lexical doublets which refer to common concepts whose use immediately indicate that "high" and "low" is being used.

I will make some remarks about the bilingual situation as it would appear to exist only in those Caribbean countries, where the "high" language and the "low" language are related. I will specifically discuss the language situation as it exists in Haiti.

The term diglossia is not usually used to describe a situation where the folk language is not related to the official language. Therefore, it would not be used to describe the language situation in, say, Curacao, where Dutch exists as the official language and Papiamentu, the Spanish-Portuguese creole is vernacular. The conditions which Ferguson had indicated as favorable to the development of diglossia, are present in the Haitian situation. French Creole and Haitian Creole exist side by side on the linguistic scene. Haitian Creole resulted from the creolization of a pidgin French, with French later playing the role of the superimposed "high" variety.

When I say creolization of the pidgin French, I am not rejecting the theory mentioned earlier by Dr. Willis that the Caribbeean Creoles might have their origin in the former Portuguese trade-pidgin that had originated on the very coasts of Africa, was disseminated to the Old as well as the New World, and was later relexified in the Caribbean. This very interesting hypothesis which still requires further study does appear to offer quite a plausible explanation of the origin of the Creoles. When I say pidgin in French, I refer to a later stage of that source language which had been carried over by the slaves, in the Caribbean area. That language was relexified in the various islands, deriving its vocabulary from the various official languages present at the time.

In Haiti, the official langauge at that time was French;

hence a pidgin French accounts for the fact that the vocabulary of Haitian Creole is about 90 to 95 percent French.

As we were saying earlier, Haitian Creole resulted from the creolization of a pidgin French, with standard French later playing the role of the super-imposed "high" variety. Therefore, those two languages share many features in their phonology and their lexicon. There are extensive differences between their grammatical structures, and that of Creole is considerably simpler than that of French.

Let me say that the fact that the grammar of Creole is considerably simpler than that of French does not imply, by any means, that the former is not a suitable tool for complete, linguistic expression.

Creole speakers are not at all aware of the grammar of their language. The fact that one is not aware of the grammar of his language does not mean that that language does not have a grammar. Creole is acquired as a spoken language, while French is learned mostly in schools in terms of rules and norms to be imitated. French has at its disposal a considerable written literature which has been in existence for centuries, and which does not exist in Creole; therefore, French enjoys higher prestige than does Creole, whose speakers are mostly illiterate. Creole is mostly an oral language. However, several Creole orthographies have been devised and there are no reasons why, once a definite trend to write Creole is established, Creole literature would not develop rapidly.

Each language has its own functions, although there may be some over-lapping. Their degree of standardization varies greatly. French was standardized long ago. Creole has not yet been standardized; nor is it yet commonly used for normal writing purposes. This type of situation has existed for years and is quite stable. It is accepted by everyone and does not constitute a problem; nor is it regarded as such.

The two languages can be said to be in complimentary distribution, as is pointed out by William A. Stewart; they may even serve as different levels of style in the same discourse situation. In a very formal situation, a bilingual speaker will speak French. However, if he wants to relax somewhat the tenseness of the situation, he will immediately shift to Creole usage, by using a phrase or a sentence just to make his audience feel more

at ease. Later, he can resume the discussion in the official language, if he wishes.

Formal presentations are always done in French; however, whenever someone wants to make a person feel more at ease, he uses Creole immediately. If he feels more comfortable discussing certain things in French, because he has learned to talk about them in French, the bilingual speaker will do so with ease.

Bilingual speakers use either of the two languages, but each one has some specific functions. The choice of using one language or the other is often prescribed by the social situation. We can generally say that the formal-public activity would be mostly in French, the informal-private activity would be mostly in Creole, with frequent shifts from one language to the other in the middle of the discourse and even in the middle of a sentence.

While French is legally the official language of the country, Creole, which has always been tolerated, has gained more status and is being used more and more in many spheres of life, both private and public.

In urban areas, all literate adults are more or less bilingual, all secondary school graduates are, but not all bread-winners are bilinguals. In rural areas, all adults and bread-winners are monolinguals. Among bilinguals there are all degrees of bilingualism ranging from incipient, to compound or coordinate.

While French possesses a very rich literary heritage and considerable international standing, Creole enjoys a special kind of attachment and affection from its speakers, and is associated with national identity.

French and Creole are closely and recognizably related. Most foreigners who come to Haiti for a long period of time, settle there and take part in the national life, learn Creole before they learn French or, to the exclusion of French, learn only Creole. The linguistic situation in Haiti is stable.

This constitutes only one illustration of the kinds of relationship that exist between official and folk languages in the Caribbean.

The tools of communication inevitably arrest the attention of researchers and professional educators -- no matter what the geographical areas to be considered. Our Caribbean Exchange was no exception. The continuous dilemma of the variety and quality of language persists as an issue in any such investigation as was attempted in our cultural exchange. Actually, a considerable quantity of the recent literature of Black America and of the Caribbean casts itself self-consciously and defiantly in the once-rejected folk idiom. As a matter of fact, certain poets and professors would advocate complete rejection of a standard language variety; they would substitute for this standard a people's language which carries with it no image of master-slave, no constraints of normative grammar, no psychological or social inhibitions or externally imposed communication discipline.

The dilemma of "Black English" vs standard English in the U.S. poses immediately a similar linguistic complexity to that of the Caribbean with its multi-linguistic cultural milieu. The Caribbean-American Scholars Exchange Seminar opened on the absorbing and moot subject matter in the academic domain of languages. It was through the language milieu that two talented young scholars set the stage for the cultural and philosophical exchanges to follow.

Dr. Miriam DeCosta Willis considered cogently for the Seminar the question: "Folk vs Formal Language in the Caribbean". The subject presents a dilemma in basic communication that is emotionally and culturally 'charged'. Subsumed in it are matters of ethnic pride, social survival, economic security, personality stability and academic success. Few U.S. educators who guide the academic development of the Caribbean student population in U.S institutions of higher education are conversant with the basic linguistic profile of the Caribbean as summarized by Dr. Willis. Against this necessarily limited sketch of the folk and formal language dimensions in the West Indies, Dr. Willis comments on the "change" in the judgemental view of language, particularly the creolized languages in the Caribbean. One aspect which pleads for future substantive research is that of African linguistic continuities and the comparisons of African creoles and West Indian creoles. Dr. Willis draws attention to the "elevation of folk language" which is occurring

in parts of the Caribbean -- the Jamaican development being a clear case in point.

Building neatly on the broad base set by Dr. Willis, the second presentation dealt specifically with Caribbean Creoles and the "official languages" to which they are related. Dr. Marie-Marcelle Racine, a Haitian language professor, provided a succinct discussion of four European "official" languages in the West Indies and the pidgins which function parallel to them. At the heart of her thesis is the focus on "diglossia" and she documents her remarks through her familiarity with French and Haitian Creole. The case for two languages functioning "in complementary distribution" is engagingly detailed. The relationships between the "diglossia" population and the "monolinguals" provide provocative reflection on the economic, social, political and cultural elements in the lives of the Caribbean peoples. This focus is equally relevant for the French and Spanish immigrants in the educational institutions of the U.S.A. as for the non-literate pidgin speaker in a country where the official language of government, church, school, law and public communication is Standard English, French or Spanish. The materials of both researchers suggest the tremendously rich lode of potential research waiting to be mined and refined.

A simple aggregate production function, Y = + (K, L, T, N, U,) shows immediately that output (Y) is a function of capital (K), labor (L), technology (T), natural resources (N), and socioeconomic variables (U).

The production function also shows immediately where health fits in, if this is a particular emphasis in the region. Obviously, health affects the labor variable; and if there is an upgrading in the quality of labor through health inputs, then this would make for changes in output.

But, I have already said that a change in output is far from being equivalent to a definition of development, because development includes many, many other facets of the quality of life. As a matter of fact, I have defined development in my book on development problems, The Economics of Latin America: Development Problems of Latin America[1](N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1972), as aiming at an effective upgrading of human life. It is the human condition with which we are concerned.

Now, I am also assuming several things -- at least I take them for granted -- among them that the country is independent; if it is not, it should be. I am also assuming that the country wants to develop, because this is a condition for beginning development. But I am not assuming any particularized ideology. I am really subtly preaching a new kind of ideology; that is, the ideology emerges out of the data of the country -- a data-determined ideology of which, obviously, development is a part. I am not arguing about capitalism and socialism. I am simply saying that the data of the country, the values of the country, the intelligence of the country, the ingenuity of the country, the consensus of the country -- these are the ingredients for the formulation of a development objective and a development path. And I think, myself, that if these ingredients are present, the country concerned can "suck in" from any other ideology-other ingredients which seem relevant, rather than have them enforced upon the country, and I am presuming that there is that independence of mind which flourishes under a nationalist kind of outlook. You might call

[1]The Economics of Latin America: Development Problems of Latin America

it bluntly nationalism.

Coming back, then, the functional relationship between health and the economic development is only a subset of the broader functional considerations which we see in the input-output relationships capsuled into the aggregate production function. Quite clearly, changes in health inputs ought to lead, as we have pointed out, to changes via the labor sector in the output of the economy.

Until very recently, these relationships between health and economic development have been neglected. The reason is easy to give. Classical economic tenets looked upon health as a consumer variable. Health was thought of as a consumption good.

But the changes in outlook, among economists, came about for instance through the Puerto Rican example in the Caribbean. The Puerto Ricans, in 1940, in making their plans, emphasized as a priority that labor productivity should improve through improvements in health, education, water, sewage, electricity, and housing. In other words, Puerto Ricans ignored what the classical economists said and went on with the job. At that time, the rest of the developing world seemed far more bookish and far more imitative of traditional analytical approaches than Puerto Ricans were. The New Deal had come to the United States, at a time when Luis Munoz Marin became leader and Governor of Puerto Rico. Whether you like Munoz or not, he wanted to get on with the job of development!

For Latin America, the Inter-American Development Bank also placed emphasis, very early in the day, on health infra-structure, as an input essential for economic development and inseparable from the need for capital and other development requirements. I have dealt with these relationships at length elsewhere.

In my book on Libya, Planning for Development in Libya[2] (N.Y.: PRAEGER, 1971, m370), I have a lenghty chapter on health. And in my book The Economics of Latin America, there is one chapter on the human condition in Latin America dealing with health and productivity relationships.

The problems of measurement are, however, very difficult --

[2]Planning for Development in Libya

quantifying the output consequence of additional health inputs. Even though quantifying the production effect of more health inputs in developing countries is a very difficult exercise, this is exactly what the economists are after -- measuring the input-output relationships, so far as health is concerned.

Nonetheless, if the functional relationships are acceptable, then there are some suggestions I want to make. They might not be new, and they are not given in rank order.

Curricular changes, for instance, become essential in most developing countries and in the Caribbean. Let me say what I mean there clearly. John Hopkins, for instance, has courses in the Economics Departments on medical economics. Yale has courses in the Economics Department on medical economics and the economics of health planning. I am quite sure that courses in medical economics should be necessary and welcome curricular innovations in our respective developing countries.

A look at the recent convention programs of the American Economic Association -- the professional body for economists in the USA -- will show several sessions being devoted to the economics of health and to hospital administration and so on. So, I would suggest, if you accept the logic of this, you will see that the economics of health becomes part of the economics curriculum. This means also, that we need a changeover from intuitive, slapdash observations on health, to careful research and quantification of improvements in health, and the relation to productivity.

On the empirical side, we have got some standards given to us -- empirical standards -- by UN, by WHO, by FAO, and this gives some insight into the initial conditions -- just where we are in the Caribbean. In other words, we can calculate for ourselves the development gap which is to be filled.

For nutrition, FAO suggests a minimum daily per capita requirement of 2500 calories a day, and at least about 71 grams of protein. In Haiti, the average, in 1971, was 1850 and 45 respectively. The Belize Development Plan (1964-70), acknowledges that there should be about three beds per thousand, for a country the size of Belize, and about four or five per thousand if it is in a town.

Re medical Doctors, the Pan-American Health Organization, in 1967, recommended one doctor for every thousand people in Jamaica. There should have been one auxiliary nurse for every 769 people. There was one doctor for every 3,583, and one auxiliary nurse for every 4,036. In the USA, there was in 1970 one doctor for every 660. We have medical people in the audience, and they can add comments from a specialists point of view. But any layman can make preliminary calculations of the gap, in terms of personnel alone, in Jamaica and Belize or Guyana or Trinidad. And, as simple as these figures are, I know for myself that the population is not generally aware of some of these standards under which the local situation can be judged.

Many prime ministers might survive better by saying, "the development problem is hard. Here are some standards by which you will judge the task which we have to undertake". But the problem is also a circular problem -- in that health inputs are essentil for increased productivity, but increased productivity is also essential to pay for health inputs for economic development! This circularity is there all the time!

There is also another problem to which I must refer, and that is the ironic results from increased health inputs. We cannot program an economy for death; in other words, for the enforced reduction of the population. Health inputs mean at least one thing -- that more babies will stay alive and that people will live longer and, therefore, there will be an increase in the size of the population in relation to the developed resources.

So, here is a problem, then, that improved health might intensify what we call the dependency ratio: that is, the percentage of people in the population who are under 15 years of age, and who are over 65 years of age - both groups being normally out of the work force. They are consumers but they are not producers and, therefore, they put a burden upon those between 15 and 64 to increase the level of production to improve the standard of living. And, the dependency ratio is enormous in the Caribbean. In the United States, for instance, about 27 percent of the population was under 15, and 10 percent over 65 in 1973; and the United States is rich, with a percapita national income of $5,000 or so. But in the Caribbean, we exceed these dependency ratios; 46 percent of the population of Jamaica and 45 percent of the Guyana population are under 15 years of age. Please remember that young

people, under 15, are zero producers, but they are consumers!

The people who are too old are out of the labor force, and there is a need for taxes to maintain them and taxes may have a depressant effect. In any case, there is the alternative cost of taxes all the time, taxes used for the consumer needs of the poor and for the children, cost roads that might be built, or other forms of intra-structure which are essential.

The opportunity costs of health are simply enormous. I have referred to this in my book The Economics of Latin America. The details there might be of interest, considering the limited maneuvering room we have in the Caribbean in terms of finances. The opportunity costs of building of hospitals could be schools - or it could be roads - or it could be scholarships - or something equally vital somewhere along the line.

To this, add another problem the time horizons for training. The health sector must have a certain minimum quantum of personnel, but it takes a long time to produce a doctor, a nurse, a dentist, and so on. And, while the training is going on - over this long time, we have to remember that the population is increasing at three percent a year, an almost uncheckable phenomenon at present.

Yet, innovations are possible under an emergency situation

Let me refer to one relevant experience of mine. In the West Indies, I remember, if a child failed school certificate, he or she was out. But in Tanzania, (I was there on a Government Commission in 1961), where there are very few doctors, the student who passed in biology, could only be trained to be a medical assistant and put in charge of a rural hospital in the countryside, or to be a dental assistant, if he passed in the relevant subjects. And many did an excellent job of holding down the situation.

In the West Indies, this would mean changing our values, our class attitudes and so on, and even our self satisfaction - that we are the best. The figures do not bring that out in health.

We are all in the same boat, except of course, for the worst cases. We must get down to the job of using people who seem to be untrainable but who are really trainable. We must find the methods of training them, as is

happening in the United States.

Now, I also assume that health care includes special areas like mental health and environmental health hazards; but again, I would like a medical opinion on that.

An interesting study, published by Duke University after 12 years, suggests -- which again adds to the complexity of the problem -- that unsatisfactory work situations cause an increase in heart disorders and in mental illnesses etc. This is very sophisticated research. But our research must also reach this level of sophistication. The transformation we seek then, is clearly not easy, because of the increased dependency ratio; opportunity costs of health; the time horizons for training, the subtleties of the situation, and because -- let me reemphasize again -- it looks as if the population growth might be uncheckable. Yet health provisions are essential to maintain that growth -- uncheckable for several reasons which, I guess, we ought to face. One is religious dogma. As all Latin America -- there is the unresolved battle between religious dogma and the "Pill". Then there is the lack of electric lights. Which means early to bed!

Distances, electric lights, religious dogma, the power of nationalism -- (in Guyana, no matter what, Guyanese believe these vast empty spaces must be populated; and I would say, irrationally, they are right) all powerfully counteract population curbs and intensify in turn the need for more health provision. I would speak about it rationally and I would act as a Guyanese in irrational terms -- I do not want the population of Guyana to be curbed, because I simply believe that more people can be housed in Guyana, and that Guyana like Belize, could be the migration outlet for many of the Caribbean islands; and even in the Caribbean islands, there are empty spaces.

Then, there is the twisted economics of poverty. Without unemployment insurance, without social security, people believe that they must have more children so as to have security in their old age. And this is a real belief.

Now, for some summary indicators of health. Let us take Barbados -- here the population growth rate is excellent, 0.2 percent per annum - always a zero growth rate which is wonderful.

The ratio of public expenditures on health is also excellent, some 19 percent of their budget in 1970-71. The mortality rate is low, excellent too in one way, but this means more people staying alive; more pressure on the economy to find 20 percent and more of central government expenditure for health, which in turn means deprivation in some other sector.

The infant mortality rate is 45 per thousand, which is over twice that of the United States, but lower than the 88 for Guatemala. But Barbadian life expectancy - 72 years of age - is greater than that of the United States. Again, an excellent thing but, again, a contribution to the dependency ratio; a longer life but more money to maintain such a life.

As we have argued, pro-health measures are the only possibilities -- not pro-death measures. Let us look at some other standards by which to evaluate the situation. Barbados had, in 1970, 10.4 hospital beds per thousand of the population - a very commendable ratio. But while the United States had one doctor for 600 people, Barbados had one doctor per 1600 Barbadians, and one dentist for every 16,000 Barbadians. The dental gap is very big and the nursing gap is very big, too.

If we go over to Haiti, we find a tremendous improvement in the expenditures on health. As you know, this is a recent thing. The ratio of the public expenditure on health in 1970 was some 14 or 15 percent, which is an enormous change in Haitian priorities. But the mortality rate is extremely high -- 20 per thousand in 1971, more than double that of the U.S.A.

The infant mortality rate is fantastic -- 130 per thousand in 1971, which is a lot of human resources being lost in the first year of life. Haitian life expectancy has gone up, but it is still low at 47.5 years in 1970. The doctor-population ratio -- one doctor for every 14,000, which obviously means that an enormous number of doctors must be produced. It is important to note, as a complicating aspect, that doctors can come over to the American market from all over the developing world! The doctors can come to the American Market and get, a minimum, I gather, $60,000 a year, which is what I calculate a doctor is making in many an unknown American village. They work very hard, but these market prices for medical talent represent alternative attractions and pressures in this scarce manpower area.

In Haiti, there was one dentist for every 50,000 people in 1970. (North America has one dentist for every 1600 people or so). In terms of nutrition, in Haiti, this stood at 1900 calories or so in 1970. This was an improvement, but it is still below international standards. The health gap has to be measured in these terms, and appropriate health policies, of course, have to be devised. But in Haiti, the chief causes of death are not heart attacks, which is the symbol of being a rich economy, but TB, malnutrition, gastrointestinal sicknesses and so on -- symbols of the poverty out of which health inputs must be paid for to improve the economy.

Now, in Jamaica, a smaller proportion of the budget -- 0 percent or so -- was spent on health in 1970. But Jamaica is a healthier land. Life expectancy is high, 70 years in 1971 - a blessing and a problem. The mortality rate is 7 or 8 per 1000 - lower than that of the United States, but Jamaica with a per capita GNP of $585 in 1970, is not as rich as the United States. This means that the good demographic aspects generate equivalent complexities for the maintenance of health and for economic development.

In health, Caribbean countries are more or less all in the same boat. I wish the Caribbean would each say that they are better than Haiti - or Haiti would not say that they are better off than Trinidad - or Trinidad would not say they are better than Antigua. This has been a perennial and traditional comparison which is not really worthwhile. In Jamaica, coming back to that, instead of one doctor for every thousand, there was still one doctor in 1971, for every 1500 people. And there was still one dentist for every 18,000 Jamaicans, and one eye doctor for every 5,000, in 1967. All of these areas still run way below the needs.

In the case of hospital bed capacity, Jamaica, in 1970, had less than two hospital beds per thousand population, 1.64 to be exact -- but Canada then had 10 beds for every thousand population. The number of persons per hospital bed in Jamaica is still more than twice the ratio in the U.S.A.

Now, when we come to Trinidad, Trinidad's expenditure on public health is 8 percent, in 1970 - even less than that of Jamaica. But the infant mortality rate is lower, 36 per 1000 - the death rate is also very low, (7 per 1000) and its life expectancy is very high.(nearly 70 years). But again, we find the doctor gap: one for

2,310, in 1970, compared to the United States, one for 660 then. Again, this at least gives us some idea of how far we have to develop in the Caribbean. In terms of dentists, for instance, Trinidad had only one dentist for every 24,000 people.

Now, there are several other variables, such as the maldistribution of health facilities which typifies Latin America, Africa and the Caribbean. The doctors, nurses, and hospitals are located in the town. In Libya, I found the same disequilibrium. There the facilities are concentrated in Tripoli and in Benghazi. Here, there is another problem to be resolved: how to get them out of the towns and into the countryside.

These problems, I believe, are recognized in the West Indies, to be frank with you, and fair to them. We are not the intellectual arbiters of the West Indies -- the region is full of intelligent people who know what the problems are. But, there is a problem that we are not discussing in the seminar -- how do we get those in power, not only to recognize the problems, but to carry out policies consistently to solve the problems?

For example, the Belize development plan for '64-'70, emphasized that health services already absorb a substantial portion of the recurrent budget. The Government recognizes the alternative costs of health provision. On page 1 of the document, the plan stated that the sewage disposal system of Belize was an affront to humanity and a danger to public health. I taught in Belize, as I did in St. Kitts, where there was a similar problem. When they throw the "night soil" out into the sea, and the wind blows it back, sometime, or the tide rolls it back.

So, the problems of sewage disposal are recognized. Why isn't something done about it? It is not laxity or inefficiency. It is that the alternative costs of health facilities in countries with low GNP, and with limited maneuvering room financially, are extraordinarily great.

The choices are excruciating. Building a hospital may mean that the country can not build a school. Building a school may mean that the country can not build a hospital. Building a hospital may mean that doctors cannot be hired and so it goes on.

Now, let me summarize this very quickly. The need, then, is to recognize public health relationships and implications, and change matters away from the level of mystique. We have got to get away from this mystique and get on with calculating the realisms of economic development.

You know, I have heard all sorts of talk about opium, voodoo, the supernatural, and so on. A nation will not survive if it does not absorb some mystique -- this is essential to us all. But it also has to be scientific. It has to quantify. It has to measure. It has to dissect. It has to analyze. It has to decode, to use that very graphic phrase, and devise policies based on the data, on the emergencies of the situation, and on the principles of efficient resource allocation. From mystique, we grew up thinking that only the medical doctor knew what was good for the health service. That is very bad mystique. We must move away from that kind of attitude to one of deliberate planning and administration of health services in relation to economic development.

We need to correct our innocence, to put money into health research for development. We need even to use our wastes.

And also, not having money and not having doctors, just as in the American ghetto, the Caribbean needs to send people all over the countryside to preach health education, and to generate an understanding of health and economic relationships.

This is the quiet contribution I would like to make this afternoon. Thank you very much.

Rawle Farley
(Editorial Comments)

The priorities listed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund Caribbean Working Party placed as much emphasis on Health as on Communications. One of the vital directions to be supported by Caribbean governments and educators is that of improved health conditions. Moving from the arena of language and communications, the persuasiveness and logic of Dr. Rawle Farley leaves little to be argued. Clearly relating health factors to output, Dr. Farley documents the case for a mission in better health services using data from the Caribbean for appropriate comparisons with the U.S.A and with the West Indian countries themselves. Further, he links the vital factor inextricably to the vital labor factor. Dr. Farley brings to his research a candor, an objectivity and a breadth of economic and academic experiences which give his assertions conviction. His jeremiad against unscientific procedures, unanalytical processes, and inefficient resource allocation is an urgent plea for sound thinking, unemotional decisions, and a non - 'mystique' approach to attitude building and social restructuring. His recommendations are solid and sensible, even when his posture is severe and hard-nosed. His position emanates from a genuine concern for the Caribbean and a desire to see such improved health services a reality. Guyanese in origin, Dr. Farley brings a broad and valid economic expertise to these concerns, having both the U.S. experience and familiarity and a wide West Indian background.

PREFACE

The remarks and statements that follow are not all original thoughts of mine. They have grown out of reading the expressions of others, talking with fellow colleagues, observations, travel and other vicarious expreiences.

The author is frank to admit he does not propose to suggest that he has all the "know-how" on The Role and Function Of The Traditionally Black College.

It is, however, his firm conviction that there is a definite need for such institutions and with careful planning, innovative curricula, a strong faculty, support from the Board of Trustees and all segments of this pluralistic society, the traditionally good Black colleges shall survive for the forseeable future.

Prezell R. Robinson

A Position Statement On The Role and Function of Traditionally Black Colleges

The years that saw the founding of Cornell University and Johns Hopkins, of Stanford and the University of Chicago, were also the years when many small colleges were established in the South to serve the educational needs of the newly-freed slaves. While great nineteenth-century industrial enterpreneurs like Ezra Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Leland Stanford, and John D. Rockefeller -- to name only some of the more conspicuous -- gave amounts ranging from half a million to tens of millions of dollars to found great teaching and research universities where none had previously existed, and while many others, less famous, gave impressive sums to expand and refurbish modest college establishments that had already taken root, there were no comparable benefactions for private Negro higher educational institutions. Only in the twentieth century, and then mostly through the generosity of a handful of individuals and bodies like the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Julius Rosenwald Fund, did the struggling Black colleges begin to receive support in single-gift amounts larger than that of a few thousand dollars.

The "separate but equal" principle, even if faithfully adhered to, could never have created in Alabama, Georgia, or Mississippi state institutions like those that developed in Wisconsin, Michigan, or California. The states where Blacks were to be found in overwhelming number before the First World War were not those that had reputations for being generous in their appropriations for public education. They were, for both Blacks and whites, the major "under-developed educational areas" of America.

The Negro colleges--still small and impoverished-- enrolled the greatest number of those few Blacks who were able to pursue their studies beyond high school. These colleges were largely "invisible", as their inhabitants were, to all white citizens except the handful who had philanthropic or other reasons for being concerned with them. These colleges did not figure among the institutions celebrated by those who thought to extol American higher educational achievement. They were isolated in all the ways that racism and segregation required. The choices their presidents, trustees, alumni, students, and faculties were in a position to make were in all instances severely restricted. The stigma of race attached to everything they sought to do;

they were educating Black men and women to live and work in a segregated society.

These institutions, particularly after the Supreme Court decision of 1954, had to contend with all their old problems but with many new ones as well. They had been founded to serve a segregated society. But if, as the Supreme Court decreed, segregation was no longer permissible -- if the whole structure built on the myth of "separate but equal" was to be dismantled -- what place did these institutions have in the new order of things? Belatedly, great numbers of colleges and universities in the North vied for Black students (and, also, for Black professors and trustees). If the doors were no longer closed to the Black man or woman, what compelling reason was there for supporting financially-embarrassed institutions that had been established in the first instance only because no other facilities were open to the Black citizen?

The availability of new opportunity has opened an entirely new dialogue within the Black community. Many are not at all persuaded that the new doors are in fact as open as some pretend; they are skeptical of the private colleges that send recruiters out in such number to search for Black students. They ask whether these practices, together with "faculty raiding", do not deprive the Black colleges of their most precious human resources, reducing their effectiveness at a time when they might otherwise be growing in strength. Many are not at all persuaded that the advantages offered by these institutions are as advertised; they ask what they will lose if they choose to go through these new doors rather than through those that have been open to them for a century.

There is a considerable division about what the Black colleges have accomplished in the past, and that they are in fact capable of doing in the future. Some--almost certainly the minority--accept that many of the Black colleges are antiquated; only the strongest, they say, ought to be maintained. Others find a mixture of arrogance and ignorance in such a proposal. For them, the problem of the education of Blacks is a national obligation; the federal government is duty-bound to provide financial and other assistance. If a Black youth wishes to enroll in a college or university that is over-whelmingly white, that is his choice to make. If he prefers to stay with other Blacks in an institution where Blacks are in control, that ought also to be permitted. Some who argue in this way insist that a"Black" institution, with all the same library and laboratory equipment, will never be like a "white" institution, and ought not to aspire to become so.

What are some of the specific challenges of the decade of the seventies? There will be demands made on these institutions which will ultimately make or break the "Negro College". Some of the demands will be overt, while others will be more subtle. It is, therefore, not too far fetched to predict that the traditionally Negro Colleges that are still existing at the close of this decade will be those who have become aware of their positions within the society. Those colleges which will not be around at the close of this decade will have failed to meet the challenge and through their own short-sightedness will have brought about their demise.

It is time now (it is really past time) for the leaders of the traditionally Negro colleges to speak out on where they intend to lead their colleges during this decade. These leaders must make their positions known. A positive statement will do much to point the direction of the school and eliminate those who feel that the traditionally Negro colleges are "Re-actors to society" rather than "Actors within society". The present identity crisis existing on many campuses would be moved toward solution through positive statements regarding the college's identity.

In order to make projections about the developments at the traditionally Negro colleges, it is necessary to secure for these colleges a clientele for the seventies. The recruitment of students will be the key factor in the continual development of these institutions.

How do these colleges increase their enrollments during the coming years? How can the impact of recruitment from traditionally white colleges be met with positive recruitment patterns from the traditionally Negro colleges? Are there untapped areas for potential students for the traditionally Negro colleges? What financial gains are also related to this thrust for potential students? These are some of the questions which this presentation will seek to answer.

Let the record be made clear at the very outset. There are areas of untapped student potential for the traditionally Negro colleges. There can be adequate positive recruitment programs that can be developed in spite of the increased recruitment of Black students by the predominantly white institutions. These developments can occur when and if traditionally Negro colleges are concerned enough to want them to occur. The major element in the program of change centers around the willingness to initiate programs of recruitment in areas outside the traditional south. A great deal of time and thought must be given to the statement made above. It

is important that the program of recruitment in areas outside of the South be seen as strategic to both the future of traditionally Negro colleges and the future of education for a large number of Black youngsters. The proposed recruitment plan should be seen as a supplemental program to existing recruitment programs and is, by no means, to be considered as an alternative plan. The extent to which the college will develop the supplemental plan will depend upon a number of factors at that college. However, some form of implementation is necessary.

THE MID-WEST, THE NORTHEAST, AND THE WEST, ARE AREAS WHICH ARE THE UNTAPPED SOURCES FOR INCREASING ENROLLMENT OF BLACK STUDENTS. These are areas where students are both unaware of the offerings of the traditionally Negro colleges and are unable, for many reasons, to attend colleges in these areas. Many of these students would be willing to attend the traditionally Negro college, if they had both information and motivation from these colleges. Coaches have used these areas when they wanted specific talent in the area of sports. Why not use these areas for the academic talent that is also there?

One reason these areas possess a potential for the traditionally Negro college stems from the current "integration" and "Black Awareness" developments. Students within these areas, for the most part, have been exposed to "integrated schools" in some manner from elementary school to high school. The traditionally white college can not appeal to them through its announcements of "mixed classes", etc. These students are caught up in the present "Black Awareness" thrust and are searching to discover their "Black Heritage". The traditionally Negro college can offer, as no other institution of higher learning in the United States, the real depths of the meaning of the "Black Experience". This could be a major selling point in the advertisement of traditionally Negro colleges. Some other institutions are attempting to build advertisements around their "Black Programs". Why should the traditionally Negro college fail to challenge these schools? There are no other institutions of higher education which have the numbers of Black students as the traditionally Negro college and this is important in relating to those you are seeking to better understand. This is strategic in that the traditionally Negro college can provide positive and constructive direction to Black students seeking to understand their heritage and their future.

One thing that might be most important in the competitive struggle for existence would be to admit the reality

of the impact of recruitment by predominantly white institutions on the enrollment patterns of the traditionally Negro colleges. At the present stage of development, a growing number of Blacks are being drawn toward predominantly white institutions. This fact exists for a number of reasons. Foremost among these reasons would be the financial assistance available for these students and the experience (a new experience for southern Black students) of an education at a predominantly white college. Financial aid is available for "Disadvantaged Youngsters", "High Risk Students", and "Culturally Deprived Students". It does not take much bending for those phrases to include every Black youngster in the United States. It is this methodology which causes the "cream of the crop" from Black high schools to be absorbed within the above categories and threatens the continual existence of traditionally Negro colleges.

A frontal confrontation by the traditionally Negro college of those institutions and financial programs which are producing the problem must be made. This is important, if the education of that large minority is to have real meaning in this bi-racial society. Black youngsters can not be made into pawns for the chess games of American higher education. The traditionally Negro college is strategic in avoiding this possible "sin" of education.

Until the "sensationalism" and "status symbol" of attending the former "forbidden fruit" colleges has run its course, the competition between the two segments of this quest for Black students will remain. In the meantime, a new strategy is needed so that the masses of Black students who may never "qualify" for admission to a predominantly white institution might be assured a chance at acquiring an education. For whatever reason they may fail to qualify, they must be brought to an awareness that educational development is not halted when at first you don't succeed. The great challenge to the traditionally Negro college is a meeting of the two for the mutual development of both.

A further statement of Black students outside of the traditional South should underline the fact that experiences at the "integrated school" are "old hat". These students yearn for an opportunity to be themselves rather than being constantly held up as "examples on display". A college where no one gets lost would be the best motto for these times. What other institution has a greater understanding of the concerns, frustrations, anxieties, and hopes of Blacks than the traditionally Negro colleges?

The traditionally Negro colleges have, in many respects, been the historical sites of the "Bi-Racial developments in America". Within their charters were "open admission policies" when such often meant open opposition by some supporters and townspeople. The traditionally Negro college has, historically, had a Bi-Racial Faculty. These institutions have also trained their students for living in our Bi-Racial society. They equipped their students, even then, for living in two societies, "one white and one Black". Other institutions are "Johnny come lately units" and do not possess the heritage nor the experience necessary to meet the demands of the dual society of today. If the traditionally Negro college did all this when it had so little to work with, how much more could it do if it took command of these areas where it is the most competent agency in the society. This great selling point of the traditionally Negro college is its challenge and commitment. This is the factor that can greatly enhance its appeal to students in the seventies and to doubters who are now claiming it will close down. The traditionally Negro college that answers the challenge and hurls down its charge will stand tall among the sun-crowned leaders of the forward thrust of higher education.

The survival of predominantly Black colleges has suddenly become the subject of earnest debate among educators and policy makers, who are raising some fundamental questions. Should there be Black colleges at all and should they be saved at any price? Should society perpetuate Black colleges,when white schools are not only opening their gates to Black students but in some cases actively recruiting them, thus providing at last the hope of a truly integrated system of higher education? Has history bypassed the Black colleges?

The Black colleges were born of racial inequity, and they are symbols of segregation. Nevertheless, there is a strong case to be made, on practical grounds, for preserving and strengthening them. They are living institutions, after all. They operate plants worth hundreds of millions of dollars, and though their facilities are often old and inadequate, they turn out thousands of competent graduates every year. Despite their handicaps, the schools have succeeded in training a major share of the educated Blacks who serve--and lead--Black communities, and they will need to continue that role for the foreseeable future.

With growing numbers of Black youths demanding access to college, better Black institutions--not fewer-- will be required if their needs are to be adequately met. This is particularly true since many Black students from city ghettos or the rural South are understandably

reluctant to make two difficult adjustments simultaneously-to college level work and to white society. For these students the "Blackness" of Black colleges is appealing and even necessary. Large, and possibly wrenching, changes will be needed of course. Many of the schools will have to make vast improvements in both their physical facilities and their curricula, and others might have to be turned into college preparatory schools for students from deprived backgrounds. Some of the weaker schools should be abandoned. But all the changes should be made with an eye to strengthening an educational alternative that could meet the needs and aspirations of large numbers of young people seeking higher education.

The Black colleges have a long record of service in the face of what often have appeared to be insurmountable obstacles. Before the Civil War, educational opportunities for Blacks scarcely existed. Few Blacks were literate, since it was illegal to teach slaves in the South to read or write. A Carnegie Commission on Higher Education report published in the spring of 1971, titled Between Two Worlds, estimates that only twenty-eight Blacks held college degrees in 1860.

Today there are about 110 degree-granting colleges and universities, most of them in the southeastern U.S., that traditionally have been for Blacks. Most do have a few white students enrolled, and several now have a predominantly white enrollment. About thirty of the schools are publicly supported and controlled. Of the private institutions, the majority--at least fifty seven--have ties to some church.

A key argument of those who would write off Black colleges is that integrated or predominantly white schools have the capacity to take in all the Blacks who aspire to higher education. But Howard's President Cheek argues that it is naive to believe that if all Black colleges were to close, the white schools would quickly fill the breach. Years after the end of legal segregation, Blacks are still seriously underrepresented on the nation's campuses. Fred Crossland, a close observer of the Black colleges and a staff member at the Ford Foundation, says that Blacks attending all kinds of colleges in the fall of 1970 constituted only 6 percent of the national enrollment of eight million, though about 11 percent of the total population is Black. He estimates that if the number of Blacks attending college were proportional to their number in the national population, there would be 543,000 more Black students. Actually that estimate is probably low. The median age of Blacks is about twenty-two, compared to twenty-eight for the white population, which means that there is a higher percentage of Blacks than of whites at or near college age. Crossland's projections

show that for Blacks to achieve proportional enrollment, the 1970 enrollment of Black freshmen would have to nearly double in the next four or five years.

The schools that have attracted Black students most readily in the last few years have been the predominantly white community colleges, which now enroll a majority of the Blacks going to college. These schools are popular because they have low academic requirements for admission, are inexpensive, and frequently are located near urban neighborhoods. In addition, they offer flexible class schedules that permit students to work while attending school. But most community colleges offer only a two-year program; a majority of Blacks enrolled in four-year degree programs still attend the traditionally Black colleges. In 1968, according to one estimate, 80 percent of Blacks who actually graduated from college received their degrees from Black schools.

Many well-known universities that draw their students from all over the nation boast about the opportunities they now offer Black students, but few of these schools have enrolled Blacks in numbers anywhere near their proportion of the total population. According to figures compiled in the spring of 1970 by the Federal Office for Civil Rights, only 6.7 percent of the undergraduates at the University of Chicago in the fall of 1970 were Black.

The Black colleges will need all the help they can get in the next decades. Costs are rising all along the line, and so are needs. At one time, instructors at Black colleges had no alternative to accepting low pay; in effect, they subsidized Black education. Now qualified Black teachers are in demand, particularly young ones in the social-science areas that include Black studies, and Black schools must compete with white ones for these teachers. The competition has required Black colleges to increase faculty salaries by 50 percent or more during the past five years. Even with these increases, their pay scales still lag behind those of other institutions, particularly for senior professors.

The schools must also improve the quality of their administrative staff, which again means higher salaries. Traditionally, the Black colleges have been subjected to one-man rule, with presidents who made all decisions, hired faculty, signed all checks, raised funds, and masterminded development. One college president, asked if he had a development director, replied, "Yes, he makes appointments with the foundations, and then I go talk to them." Because of the current crisis and the increasing complexity of running even the small Black colleges, there is greater need than ever to expand

administrations to include sophisticated managers, fund raisers, development experts, and curriculum innovators.

New funds are also needed to improve counseling services for students at Black colleges. In the future the large task of providing remedial help for under-prepared students probably will have to be left to public institutions, Black and white--though Dr. Clark, the social psychologist, has suggested that many of the smaller private colleges might well become post-high school transitional academies to prepare youngsters for college. But there will still be an important place for the predominantly Black colleges. Most of them have done their best, with inadequate resources, to serve a segment of the population that had nowhere else to go. Now those colleges that aspire to greatness--not just as Black schools, but as schools ready and able to serve all--will need all the help they can get from corporations, state and federal governments, and all other sources of funds. Most of the initiative in developing this outside assistance will have to come from the schools themselves. Lifted by such self-help, many of the Black colleges should be able to meet their urgent mission in a second century of service.

Let's face the issue squarley: What do we have? We have many Black schools that offer their students excellent educations. In these schools students acquire the foundation necessary for further education or direct entry into careers. The learning atmosphere in these schools is so good, in fact, that their students in graduate schools often outperform Black and white students from richer and more prestigious white schools.

If any conclusions are to be drawn about relative success in educating Black students, they have to be that Black schools do it better. When one thinks about it, there is no reason for that to be surprising. Where would one expect most people to do better--in surroundings where they were only accepted recently and where they often are misunderstood, or in surroundings which were established with their preferences and needs in mind?

In Black schools we have Black role models at all levels of faculty and administration. Most white schools do not. Everyone who seriously wants to evaluate education in Black schools should consider factors like these and remember the crow who did not hold on to what he had and ended up with nothing. We have to hold on to

what we've got. The number of "big names" on a faculty or the size of enrollment does not determine the quality of an institution. Big names often are inaccessible, especially to minority group students. Large schools often provide a depersonalized experience which creates obstacles to learning for these same students. If they are hindered in getting hold of what a school has to offer, its value to them is limited.

Obviously, some Black schools are weak academically, but one has to examine Black colleges through a mighty distorted set of lenses before one can conclude that they are the 100 worst schools in this country. Actually, there are hundreds of white schools in the United States which have not reached the academic level attained by the best Black schools. Are we going to give up our schools? No. We are going to hold on to them.

One reason we can remain confident of the value of our schools is that we have been overcriticized before. This is not the first time that many observers have missed the boat in assessing Black schools and the availability of talent in them. Do you remember the experts in professional sports who used to laugh when we told them that some of the best athletes in the world were playing in Black schools with small enrollments and miniscule budgets? No one is laughing anymore. Many scouts, coaches and team owners finally managed to see the light and to revolutionize the standards of achievement in sports along with the size of team revenues.

We do not have much, but we are doing a lot with the little we have, and we intend to hold on to it. That does not mean, however, that we are satisfied. We will get more material resources, but we will maintain control of the use of those resources. We will continue to strive for more effective and more relevant education, but we will not accept the notion that those goals only can be pursued in white-controlled institutions. We will continue to increase the pressure on white schools to educate and employ more Blacks, but we will not accept the argument that growth there has to be accomplished at the expense of Black schools. In other words, we will hold on to what we have, improve it, and reach out into new areas.

We are going to hold on to what we've got in spite of sweeping criticisms of Black colleges which are typical of attempts at self-fulfilling prophecies by observers of the Black experience in America. Public and private sources of funds in this country consistently have

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refused to give first-class money to Black colleges. Then they have tried to label these schools as providers of second-class education. In spite of this treatment many Black colleges are first rate. If more adequate funding had been available, even more of these schools would be strong today.

In other words, Black students are ready in increasing numbers for the various types of higher educational opportunity. The question is whether schools, white as well as Black, and the broader society are ready to make that opportunity available. A study by David Rafky, published in the October, 1971 issue of Change magazine, analyzed the chances of obtaining post-secondary education for a youth from a family with an income of $12,000-15,000 per year versus those of a student with equal ability from a family with an income less than $5,000 per year. The study concluded that the more affluent youth is five times as likely to continue his education past high school. Forty-five percent of the non-white families in the United States have incomes under $5,000 per year, so the odds clearly are stacked against us. This country must decide soon whether education will develop talent and leadership or perpetuate existing economic and social privilege.

Although Blacks now are as well represented as whites among high school graduating classes, and although progress has been made in college enrollment, Blacks continue to be only one-half as well represented as whites in higher education. To move toward parity with whites, we must more than double our enrollment in higher education by 1980 and almost double it again by 2000. That may not sound too difficult since Black enrollment doubled during the 1960's. The problem is that we benefitted in the 1960's from doubling of overall enrollment and from the peak of the civil rights movement. Neither of those conditions exists any longer. Projections indicate that overall enrollment will increase by one-half in the 1970's, remain stable in the 1980's and increase by one-third in the 1990's. The challenge, therefore, is for us to move faster than the pack. And that will not be easy.

As Blacks we must become more conscious of the fact that graduate-level work is a vital area and one in which we have made little progress. Because few Black colleges offer graduate degrees, most graduate work has to be done in predominantly white institutions whether they are hospitable or not. By saying that, I am not underestimating the difficulties present in graduate education. I know that graduate school can be a trying time.

As Blacks, in fact, we must take maximum advantage of every opportunity which is available to us. Preparation must begin early in higher education for careers which will enable us to benefit ourselves and our communities. Unless we can diversify our career interests and preparation to move into growing, lucrative, and socially significant fields, Blacks will continue to face traditional problems. We will be last on and first off jobs. We will continue to earn considerably less than whites and even less than Spanish-speaking minorities. That's right. Recent reports indicate that Blacks earn less on the average than Spanish-speaking minorities. Unless we can get into different career areas in greater numbers, we also will continue to be unable to improve significantly the ghetto conditions in which many Blacks live.

Black students and those who advise them must be aware of manpower projections. For example, demand for teachers is expected to stop its decline of the past several years but to remain low through the 1970's. On the other hand, demand for other services, especially in health, is expected to increase dramatically. Demand also is expected to grow rapidly in fields where Blacks are not often found, such as urban planning, architecture, engineering and environmental protection. State and local governments also will grow rapidly. We must be ready to move into fields like these which will have tremendous impact on the job opportunities and the quality of life for all of us. That impact easily can be negative, if we do not do something about it.

Racial discrimination is still here. Unfortunately, it probably still will be here when your children are in college. Each of us must fight it through our individual efforts and through organized, programmatic effort. We must do our homework so we know what specifically is the obstacle to overcome in any given area. Then we have to develop viable means of overcoming those obstacles and authoritative voices to spread the word about what has to be done.

In concluding, I would adjure you that through research, evaluation, program development, speaking, publication and technical assistance, the Educational Policy Center will try to do its part as we try to meet the challenges I have discussed. I hope you share its resolve that the 1970's will be the last decade when anyone in America can expect <u>anybody</u> to believe that the major obstacle to Black advancement is the absence of Blacks with the necessary education and training.

What we want is a fair share of the action. To get it, we have to press for the maximum number of new opportunities while we hold on to and build upon what we've got. What we have in higher education is control of institutions where we can foster in our youth self-confidence and motivation sufficient to prepare them for a life-long struggle to hold on to and expand the achievements of previous generations.

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*The President of Howard University and Crossland who is with the Ford Foundation were frequently quoted in the article written by Holsendolph.

Prezell R. Robinson
(Editorial Comments)

If health is a vital environmental and socio-economic factor for the target populations of mutual concern to our Caribbean Exchange participants, then higher education is an equally indispensable prerequisite to Caribbean or U.S. Blacks who are the major student population shaped by our exchange participants. Thus, the shift from health as a focus to Black higher education, particularly to the private Black college, is appropriate and integral to our concerns. Without question, a considerable number of Caribbean students pursuing higher education in the U.S. do so at Black colleges. What happens to the Black college, then, impacts on the West Indian student and on the American Black student as well.

The role and function of the "traditionally" Black college is examined by a president of a Black private college and a participant in the Exchange. Dr. Prezell R. Robinson, president of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, was the only college executive to participate in the actual exchange. Ascending to the presidency through the classroom and the position of Dean of Academic Affairs, Dr. Robinson brings to his task an understanding and a documented commitment that is rare. He deals in this paper, with a crisis -- one which is dramatically confronting the Black community and one which has profound implications for the future of Black leadership, Black citizenry, and Black community self-reliance for decades to come.

The case which Dr. Robinson builds <u>for</u> the continuing significance of the Black college is documented out of his own experience at St. Augustine's, although he does not specifically indicate the role of his own college in proving the practical wisdom of his position. He develops a brief for affirmative action and argues convincingly the unique role of the "historically Negro colleges". The data garnered by the United Negro College Fund supports, in large measure, his premises. The "open-door" at non-Black institutions has been aptly described as the "revolving door," as many Blacks are again <u>out</u> before they have actually been <u>in</u> the door; even <u>for</u> those that succeed in surviving <u>in</u> the non-Black institutions, the trauma and the personality damage and the denigration of self-image often result more in negation of the academic strengths of the institution

than in the affirmation of its promise. The piece is, thus, a timely prescription to the ailing Black institutions currently threatened.

Liberal Arts Education vs. Vocational Training For Blacks In The United States: What Are The Priorities?

Paper Presented by Chester M. Hedgepeth, Jr

To confront the issue "Liberal Arts Education vs. Vocational Training" in Black institutions, in the United States, is to come face to face with a dilemma that has plagued Black higher education since its inception in the late 18th century. The topic itself is fraught with ironies, for often when their has been vocational education offered by Black colleges the vocational opportunities for Black people have been limited; when there has been "liberal" education, the cry for more individuals with "marketable" skills has been vociferous. To complicate further the challenges of the issue, one needs only to try to set priorities, giving more emphasis to the one kind of education than to the other.

The issue of liberal arts education vs. vocational education is eloquently stated by two Black Americans. Booker T. Washington spoke out for vocational education in his address to the Atlanta Exposition in 1895:

> Cast (your bucket) down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions... Our greatest danger is that ...we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor...No race can prosper until it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem.[1]

W.E.B. DuBois, writing in The Souls of Black Folk, sees the necessity of the wedding of humanistic studies along with so-called vocational education. I say "so called" here because the term "vocational" has itself come into disuse, for reasons that we will mention later in our discussion. DuBois states:

> We shall hardly induce Black men to belief that if their stomachs be full, it matters little about their brains... The function of the Negro college is clear: it must maintain standards of popular education, it must seek the solution of problems of race contact and cooperation...finally,

beyond this it must develop men...I sit with Shakespeare, and he winces not...I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas...I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and they come all graciously.., So, wed with Truth, I dwell above the Veil.[2] (1903)

It should be noted here that although Wesley Pugh in his article "The Inflated Controversy: DuBois vs. Washington" indicates that the above mentioned views do not represent a fundamental contradiction in philosophies of these two Black leaders,[3] it is true that DuBois interprets Washington's Atlanta speech as setting forth a policy of submission. DuBois writes:

> Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things,--
> First, political power
> Second, insistence on civil rights
> Third, higher education of Negro youth,--
> and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South.[4]

Mr. Pugh, unfortunately leaves his article undocumented, thus one hesitates in accepting as axiomatic his thesis that Washington and DuBois did not differ materially in thesis views on the <u>type</u> of education Blacks should receive.

The development of Black liberal arts colleges has paralleled the growth of the technical colleges. Schools like Tuskegee Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington, Hampton Institute in Virginia, and numerous "A & T", or agricultural and technical colleges have, since their origination, offered a wide selection of courses designed to prepare the individual for the work he needed to do in order to insure his physical well being. Among the Black institutions today, Tuskegee's school of Veterinary Medicine still trains the largest number of Black veterinarians in the United States. We can be sure, however, that in the early 19th century veterinary training, as well as the other "sciences", had purely utilitarian ends. A man needed to know how to care for his farm animals, his soil and his crop, if he and his family were to eat. Side by side with the growth and development of these vocational or trade curricula were schools designed primarily for the training of ministers and teachers. It will not be difficult to see the reason for the early growth of predominantly religious institutions in the United States, many of them governed by white missionaries. The Black man struggled for solace from his God who offered salvation from the bondage of slavery. My own institution, Virginia Union University, began as Wayland Seminary, a

school for the preparation of Baptist ministers. The curricula of these institutions included traditionally "liberal arts" courses--that is, they included Latin and Greek, Literature, Science and Mathematics, Music and Theology. The difference, however, between the mission of the Black liberal arts institution and the white institutions was that the graduate of Virginia Union University had the explicit goal of pulpit preaching. The work of salvation, of release from his pain, necessitated his becoming a pulpit theologian, necessitated his spreading the Word of hope to his fellow man (via good Ciceronian rhetorical modes). The idea of the liberal arts, defined as a kind of education for the Renaissance man, to be at home with his thoughts and his interests, and to choose his own profession, could never be realized in a society that enslaved a good number of its population. Black colleges have succeeded in combining the concept of vocational and liberal arts education and have provided an education which had as its objective a fuller and richer life for Black students.

Later, as these colleges and universities grew in size and curricula, the need to prepare more individuals in social work and teaching became evident. Theology, social work and teaching, in addition to the "trades", that is, agriculture, carpentry, and so on, became the major "career" emphases of Black institutions. But as late as 1950, ironically, students who prepared for a "vocation", that is, for a trade that usually required manual labor had difficulty making their trade "marketable" for with the growth of unions, few Blacks could advance to apprenticeship or journeyman status in their vocation. It has only been recently that the skilled Black craftsman could enjoy growth in his vocation.

When we look at the mission of Black colleges and universities in the United States we look at institutions oriented toward the social, spiritual and economic <u>needs</u> of the community. Also, when we examine more closely the maraculous job of our colleges in educating Black people for leadership in the Black community, we become more aware of their struggle in maintaining their own existence for more than one hundred years on woefully little financing. It has been the task of Black colleges to transform into productive citizens in <u>four years</u> students who matriculated three or four years behind their counterparts in white institutions. The job of these colleges has been to remediate, inform and inspire young people who would otherwise experience little or no success in an academic environment.

It might be worthwhile to record here the findings of the Ford Foundation in its 1971 report on Black colleges:

> Although many of the 100 TBI's(Traditionally Black Institutions) were suffering from enrollment and financial problems in the late 1960's, the situation was most acute at the 51 private senior institutions. Their costs were rising sharply without a corresponding increase in income, and their combined enrollments were actually declining while national black enrollment continued to grow markedly. For years they had been underfinanced and had been forced to struggle to keep their doors open, but by 1970 the prospects seemed particularly grim.
>
> It can be misleading, of course, to generalize about the 51 private senior TBI's. They vary considerably in size, purpose, sponsorship and financial strength. Least typical of the 51 is Howard University, which enrolls one-sixth of the combined total and is more than three times the size of the next largest private TBI. Unlike any other black institution, it receives a substantial proportion of its operating revenues directly from federal government appropriations. If Howard is excluded from the list, the remaining group of 50 private senior TBI's enrolled the following numbers of students:
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> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 1963 | 32,301 |
> | 1968 | 46,456 |
> | 1969 | 45,748 |
> | 1970 | 45,358 |
>
> Virtually, no TBI's, including the very smallest and those in gravest financial peril, gave clear indication in 1970 that they were prepared to close their doors and merge with neighboring black institutions. Instead, there appeared to be a firm determination to keep every TBI open against all odds. The perseverance was commendable, but it may have missed an important point.
>
> The issue probably should not be how many different private senior institutions could be kept in operation, but rather how many total student stations could be made available and most effectively and efficiently served. The situation seemed to suggest that the total enrollment in senior private TBI's could and should be increased substantially. But even if combined enrollment were doubled, there still would

be more institutions than needed to do the job.[5]

There is little doubt that each administrator of a Black institution will continue to preserve in his desire to keep his institution open to serve the needs of the Black students in the community. The crux of the Ford commentary, however, is that Black colleges are still suffering from acute financial problems.

As we turn our attention to priorities, in saying either liberal arts or vocational education, our historical dilemma reappears in modern guise. We must look, however, at national trends in education before we can talk efficaciously about the goals of Black colleges. It is fair to say that in the last decade "vocational" education has undergone a revolutionary transformation. First, it is now called "career education", a much more palatable term since it erases the stigma that caused some to sneer at vocational training as second-class training, especially by the college graduate. Secondly, critics of "career education" say it is an old program in a new guise, a reassertion of the work ethic; and in particular reference to the new USOE Office of Career Education, that it is another government bureaucracy. Proponents, however, see career education as an educational reform--especially as it serves as a link between school and industry. In an article entitled "Teacher Development in the Curriculum and Career Guidance", Ann Pruitt describes some of the painful experiences attendant to a new experience on"Career Education:"

> My experience in attempting to involve teachers in career guidance has prompted the following analysis of obstacles. The first deterrent is the failure on the part of many teachers to call to the attention of their students the fact that their subjects are foundations for a variety of occupations. (This is more true of the academic subjects than the vocational, for part of the rationale for including subjects like Business Education in the curriculum derives from their role in preparation for jobs.) The mathematics teacher, for example, may emphasize the point that mathemathics is primary if one aspires to become a college professor of mathematics. He may not, however, give equal consideration to the fact that mathematics constitutes a major foundation for the machinist, and that it is helpful to the secretary. Neither do teachers in general seem to have ready access to information about the jobs in which the subjects are primary--except perhaps in their own. Teachers who (help students become aware of vocational opportunities) are reviewing their subjects as avenues to vocations.[6]

The crux of Miss Pruitt's essay is that "the impact of curriculum upon vocational development, and therefore its role in career guidance, ought to be the result of systematic planning, rather than happenstance." Developing career interests, therefore, is the primary thrust of what Miss Pruitt refers to as the phenomenon of educational change. This phenomenon of educational change has manifested itself both in the community college, as well as in the four-year institutions, but more in the two-year college as we can readily ascertain by the growth of these schools in the last eight to ten years in the United States.

In a recent article in the National Observer entitled "Career Aims Shape Up Community College Courses", John Peterson writes:

> Students increasingly demand that their education pay off in a job, and colleges across the country are responding with more of what they call occupation and career oriented education ... There has been a dramatic shift in student interest in the traditional academic programs in just the past four years. The numbers of students planning to pursue fields such as education, engineering, physical sciences and mathematics have all declined by at least 30 percent. The new interests are in the health and legal fields.[7]

Peterson continues his study by pointing out that four-year colleges are getting students in the fields that are "fun to study." The community or two-year colleges, he says, prepare students for the market. Finally, Peterson notes, "about two-thirds of the students who enter two-year community colleges initially plan to transfer to four-year schools to get baccalaureate degrees . . . fewer than half of the students transfer, that's why we emphasize career education. At the American Association of Community Junior Colleges, educators noted enormously popular programs such as those in law enforcement, pollution abatement, helath care, public administration and forestry."[8]

The Ford Report indicates

> . . .that the proportion of new freshmen (and of all other new freshmen) beginning their study in two-year rather than four-year colleges has been growing rapidly. The increasing urbanization of Black Americans makes it likely that public, urban, junior community colleges will become the most important point for their entry into post-

secondary education. In 1970, more than half of all Black freshmen were in two-year colleges.[9]

What we can deduce from these studies is that career education, especially as it is structured in the growing number of community colleges, has had a critical impact on higher education generally in the United States.

It has been remarked in this context that the colleges have finally "caught up" with the students. Other such statements are common in the new journals devoted to curricula in the junior colleges. It goes without saying at this point, that for the traditionally Black colleges, the community colleges have brought about the re-thinking of the mission of Black higher education in the United States. The community colleges has been represented as a threat to Black institutions in that they compete for students at a much lower cost than both private and public Black institutions can afford. Black colleges have felt a significant enrollment decline due, at least partially, to the increase in community colleges and the utilitarian goals they advocate. What then, does this mean for Black higher education? Must four-year colleges now become "career oriented" to reclaim Black students and thus help insure their self sufficiency? Must they merge with other institutions to insure their survival? What must be done?

The Ford Foundation Report points out that there are few educators who could advocate institutional models with fewer than 1,500 full time students. "Obviously", the report goes on to say, "there are a small number of excellent colleges with enrollments of less than 1,500 but invariably these are high cost institutions that enjoy substantial financial support. The traditionally Black institution, however, cannot afford the 'luxury' of smallness. In 1970, only Howard University with 9,400 students, Tuskegee Institute, Hampton Institute and Bishop College exceeded that minimal figure of 1,500 students." [10]

Let us hasten to point out here that new emphasis on career education and the competition that community colleges present, are responsible for only a part of the dilemma faced by Black colleges in the United States. The central, most crucial of all problems, of course, is that of financial support which has increasingly declined from federal sources as traditionally white colleges have increased their minority enrollments sufficiently to qualify for assistance once secured exclusively by Black colleges. Consequently, the question of the extensiveness and stability of curriculum reform before our Black colleges, I believe, depends to a substantial

degree on the ability of our institutions to increase their student enrollments and to re-evaulate their goals to prepare "Black students and other youth for a complex, multi-racial, multi-ethnic society. But in order to serve this purpose effectively, Black colleges must . . . consolidate and maximize their scarce resources and strive for new levels of excellence." 11

Thus far we have seen the inroads that career education is making in Black education, particularly. We have yet to discuss the efficacy of these programs in terms of a larger framework, that is to say, in terms of the ends of formal education generally. There is little disagreement, I believe, in a society such as ours, that each member should have the opportunity to realize his potential in every way that is beneficial to his spiritual, material and intellectual well being. It has been the American tradition in higher education, and indeed in the educational system of Western culture generally, to give a "liberal arts" training in the schools. We still emulate the past masters of Greece and Rome in training for perfection in mind, body and spirit, but with an abundance of the "arts" in expressive systems which integrate culture, spirit, mind and God. The philosophy of "liberal arts", often in different guise from our classical antecedents, reasserted itself time and again in Western culture - - in the Renaissance, and in the 19th century European writing. One need only recall da Vinci and Shakespeare in the Italian and English Renaissance, and in the 19th century, Matthew Arnold's strong advocacy of Hellenism and Hebraism as ideal combinations for educating the youth of his time:

> Still, they (Hellenism and Hebraism) pursue this aim (august and admirable) by very different courses. The uppermost idea with Hellenism is conduct and obediance. Nothing can do away with this ineffaceable difference. The Greek quarrel with the body and its desires is, that they hinder right thinking; the Hebrew quarrel with them is that they hinder right acting. He that keepeth the law, happy is he; Blessed is the man that feareth the Eternal, that delighteth greatly in his commandments; -- that is the Hebrew notion of felecity, and pursued with passion and tenacity, this notion would not let the Hebrew rest till, as is well known, he had at last got out of the law a network of prescriptions to enwrap his whole life, to govern every moment of it, every impulse, every action . . . At the bottom of both the Greek and the Hebrew notion is the desire, native in man, for reason and the will of God, the feeling after the Universal order -- in a word, the love

> of God. But while Hebraism seizes upon certain, plain, capital intimations of the Universal order, and rivets itself, one may say, with unequaled grandeur of earnestness and intensity on the study and observance of them, the bent of Hellenism is to follow, with flexible activity, the whole play of the universal order, to be apprehensive of missing any part of it, of sacrificing one part to another, to slip away from resting in this or that intimation of it, however capital. An unclouded clearness of mind, an unimpeded play of thought, is what this bent drives at. The governing idea of Hellenism is spontaneity of consciousness; that of Hebraism, strictness of consciences.[12]

Intellectual and moral discipline is the key idea that recurs in the writing of Arnold, and the classical masters to whom he refers. Such discipline is the mainstay of academic programs or liberal arts programs in colleges and universities throughout the country. It is the foundation of the expressive systems of civilization and, thus, becomes inextricably a part of what we call art, literature, music, philosophy, history and ethics. Science, of course, has its own rules, as such. We should take note here that the "liberal arts" education is that education which examines man and his expressive systems. It concerns itself with "man", his thoughts and his behavior, and it, in the collective sense, presents a kind of ethic of its own which helps define culture and man's relationship to his culture. A liberal arts education may be said to embody in it guiding principles for living -- principles hopefully, which enable men to make wise decisions which insure their safety and happiness. A liberal arts education is consequently humanistic and the humanities constitute at least 75% of the studies in "liberal arts college."

It is difficult, if not impossible, to talk "either-or" terms when discussing liberal arts and career education. Basically, we will be discussing that which is human or serves humans in both kinds of education. The dichotomy serves to indicate, however, certain economic realities institutions must face in the re-evaluation of their goals. For most Black institutions, particularly, such rethinking of curricula is presently underway. In his paper "Education and Employment from a Black Perspective", Clifton Wharton, President of Michigan State University makes the following observations regarding the "either-or" question:

> Black students should not ignore the statistical parameters of the job market as they plan their educational futures. At the same time, they

> must reject the premise that sees economic growth as the sole path to full societal participation. In the first place, an over-concentration of Black and other minorities in career-oriented education does not serve the best interests of any student--white or Black, or otherwise . . . let us remember there are at least two paths to a better life. Economic and material gains are one path; intellectual and spiritual growth are another.[13]

President Wharton's dichotomies are almost too easy. Is one either a materialist or an intellectual? Are the ends of career education materialistic or should they be? Can't a man have a liberal education and still have a so-called "marketable" skill? I think we know the answers to these questions and I believe institutions can prepare their programs to reflect these dual functions that men have to perform in their lives.

A significant step toward the restructuring of curricula is the reordering of the liberal arts program and more specifically its human studies programs in such a way that they become "people centered." Career education can serve no human need as an end in itself, for human fulfillment is crucial in any job situation. Dr. Bernard Miller, Director of Campus Schools at Hunter College in New York, stated in his speech before the Virginia Humanities Conference, that our country is moving from a work oriented society to a leisure society. John Kenneth Galbraith makes the same point in his Affluent Society. The arguments of both these scholars is that the highest premium should be on human as opposed to economic considerations. As a humanist, I share these views. I believe that in the implementation of humanities or liberal arts curricula, the institutions can train their students for a variety of occupations and at the same time assist these students in knowing something about who they are and where they fit in the scheme of life. At Virginia Union University, we have inaugurated a program which has lifted single courses out of their narrow confines as separate disciplines, and have instituted an inter-disciplinary studies program which shows the relationship among the various disciplines and, hopefully, focuses on the commonality of man's experience. In fulfilling its responsibility to the Black community, and to the wider community, the program emphasizes the Black experience in the framework of Western culture. The course approach is thematic, one which organizes knowledge around a central topic and has the aim of increasing the scope of the student's perception of the world at large, his environment and his relationship to it. Through an interdisciplinary experience, the student will encounter the following specific objectives:

1. An increased awareness of and appreciation for, or at least understanding of, the problem of self-definition for Black people in the milieu of Western Civilization;

2. A perception of the Black art forms, as independent art, and then as assimilated art. Included would be the repercussions of proble in maintaining structural or artistic integrity within the Black art forms.

The humanities and the liberal arts makes students aware of the past as well as the present. When harmonized, the various disciplines assist in harmonizing, and indeed unifying people. Interdisciplinary studies stress an interrelatedness of knowledge. They oppose the segmented curricula of high school and college, as well as assume the commonality of human experiences. The liberal arts and the humanities, thus, are capable of giving man hope in life. What are the priorities? Liberal Arts vs. Vocational Training for Blacks? In order for man to live a fulfilling life, any education must be a lifelong education -- man will not only work, although work he must, but he will want to be happy in all of his endeavor I believe no single type of preparation will insure his happiness, but a combination of learning experiences will insure the fulfillment of his spiritual, material, intellectual and his physical needs.

FOOTNOTES

1
Booker T. Washington, "Address to the Atlanta Exposition in 1895" in Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington, ed. E. David Washington, (New York: Doubleday and Doran), 1932, p. 87.

2
W.E.B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: A. C. McClung), 1929, P. 17.

3
Wesley C. Pugh, "The Inflated Controversy: DuBois vs. Washington", The Crisis, Vol. 81, No. 4, April, 1974, p. 132-133.

4
W.E.B. DuBois, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" ed. Francis Kearns, Black Ide[illegible]ty, (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston), 1970, [illegible] 233.

5
Fred E. Crossland, Minority Access to College: A Ford Foundation Report, (New York: Schocken Books), 1971, p. 43, 48.

6
Ann Pruitt, "Teacher Development in the Curriculum and Career Guidance", Vocational Guidance Quarterly, (March, 1969), p. 189.

7
John Peterson, National Observer, (1973), p. 11.

8
Ibid.

9
Crossland, p. 32.

10
Ibid., p. 46.

11
Ibid., p. 42.

12
Matthew Arnold, "Culture and Anarchy", The Portable Matthew Arnold, ed. Lionel Trilling, (New York: 1962), pp. 559-561.

13
Clifton Wharton, "Education and Employment from a Black Perspective", Commencement Address, Hampton Institute, May, 1973.

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Chester M. Hedgepeth, Jr.
(Editorial Comments)

Presently the most persuasive pressures impinging upon developing institutions are for accountability, viability, and management systems operable and efficient. Such pressures relentlessly imposed by federal and foundation funding sources have placed in sharp focus the dilemma of Black institutions ill-equipped to operate as business enterprises but expected to implement management systems and to have predictable delivery and performance evaluation systems comparable to industrial operations producing products such as cars and materials. Such funding prerequisites point clearly to the issue of educational priorities, the subject of the third article in the section titled, Missions and Directions. Dr. Chester M. Hedgepeth considers the traditional liberal arts mission and the current vocational vogue with its concomitant job-security implications. The dilemma of liberal arts vs vocational education underscores the current critical management task of administrations of higher education: the reconciling of historical liberal arts missions and the current career-oriented educational direction being forced upon higher education by pupils and parents alike. Dr. Hedgepeth rightly relates the historical duality of Black systems of higher education which of necessity addressed both liberal and vocational needs as it trained disadvantaged Black youth to survive in a segregated culture. This issue is equally relevant to Caribbean educational systems as they attempt to restructure their curriculum to meet contemporary national needs rather than to emulate historical colonial patterns.

Beginning with the over-simplified and antipodal examples of the DuBois-Washington controversy on Black educational priorities, Dr. Hedgepeth builds a cogent rejection of a single option -- either liberal or vocational. Insisting that Black educational curriculum must be the one coin with complementary faces, he argues the case for an interdisciplinary approach that uses the liberal arts as a necessary element in career security and personal fulfillment. The constraints of his paper do not permit consideration of the Black college as possibly the major or often only social instrument operative in the Black community as a source of contact with 'liberalizing' facets of human activity. Disadvantaged matriculants coming from communities without

libraries, community centers, recreation outlets, without Lions-Rotary-Kiwanis clubs and their routine programs of enrichment and opportunity, from the major population of Black colleges have traditionally looked to Black higher education to provide much more than a mere academic preparation for an adult world. To the necessary fulfillment of material, physical, intellectual, and spiritual needs advocated by the author one other need might be added: the fulfillment of social needs. For to make one truly human is to inculcate in one those essential social skills which promote the best health of the individual within a collective society. Dr. Hedgepeth rightly reminds the reader that any education worth that designation "must be a life-long education". Vocational education responds to a mission and direction of the immediate, the today; liberal education, on the other hand, should respond to a mission and direction of the remote, the tomorrow. One concentrates on simple occupational survival; the other on full, productive living. Dr. Hedgepeth defends the fusion of the two missions as the only intelligent route to personal happiness and fulfillment.

Considering the cruel realities of the labor and union milieu re Blacks with vocational skills and the rapid obsolescence of vocationally skilled manpower in an increasingly complex world of technology, his argument is worthy of careful consideration. In the Caribbean educational milieu less threatened by complex technology at this point, the fusion advocated by Dr. Hedgepeth has even more efficacy.

Taken From Taped Proceedings
Roy Bryce-LaPorte

Perhaps, what I would like to share with you today may have been more properly included in the first sessions. But there is some worthiness in discussing it at this point because I think it will be one more opportunity to make sure that pedagogical, curricular, and policy concerns of educators are not lost in a general discussion of national issues; also, to suggest that there are important educational issues (and therefore, implicit challenges for educators) in some areas that are only now being appreciated as national or regional problems of the Caribbean.

I am involved in the study of immigration and ethnic studies at the Smithsonian Institution and I am particularly concerned with the new immigrants to the United States -- those entering as of the 1960's. From this vantage point, what one observes is an interesting shift, insomuch as the large majority of immigrants are now coming largely from emerging countries, with peculiar historical relations with the United States as a metropolitan industrial center -- countries whose populations are so visible in ethnic and cultural terms that, should they become acculturated, (that is, should they become American) in terms of their newly acquired behavioral mannerisms, they nevertheless will not be assimilated --"melt" -- in the traditional sense of the word -- but become part of already established minority groups located outside the mainstream of American society.

Specifically, there is noted a greater increase of immigrants from the continent of Asia, the Caribbean and Latin American regions. And while, in some terms, you may say that Latin America really consists of a number of older countries as well as politically emerging countries, their historical relationship to the United States is quite different from that of the relationship of Holland, England, France or Germany with the United States. Despite their ages, they relate to the United States in ways not outstandingly different from the newer Caribbean states. In terms of culture, in most cases they are more distant from what is now viewed as main American culture than is Germany, Great Britain or France. Finally, in each such case, a group has preceded them that has already been viewed as a distinct and permanent minority group in the United States, which

becomes the ultimate location of these people, if they become acculturated. So that second generation Jamaicans become American Blacks, and second generation Latins, of whatever sort, may be viewed somewhere within the Chicano, Puerto Rican or Spanish-speaking populations. And, second generation Filipinos, Chinese and Samoan, are likely to be classed with the Oriental populations.

Obviously, by now, from my own accent and from my combination of names, I suppose you surmise that I represent a part of that new immigrant myself. (I am Panamanian by birth, a descendant of peoples from various parts of the West Indies, and now relocated in the United States). So I speak with personal sensitivity to the issues of emigration, immigration, immigrant adaptation, contribution and problems, and, with some authority and empathy in another sense too, I hope, inasmuch as my career is comprised of strands of teaching as well as research experiences.

The point that I want to make is that somewhere between poles of education and ideology, the topic being discussed today, must be the concern with a certain kind of reality - a reality which in some cases is frightening in other cases, painful, unfortunate, sad; but nevertheless, a reality that has to be dealt with. And, that reality is that emigration, generally, not to other parts of the Caribbean, but to the old metropolitan states of Europe or the new metropolitan states of North America. So it is either moving to England, France, Holland, Denmark, Spain -- or it is moving to the United States and Canada.

The numbers of people leaving the islands have not decreased over the years. The numbers have increased relative to the decade, the past decade, that is relative to the 50's. This observation therefore, leaves us with a question as to how are we going to deal with emigration, of what does it say of the present national reality and of what implications does it have for educational planning, curricular planning and teaching orientations for tomorrow.

Emigration may be viewed as sort of a safety valve in which the countries involved just get rid of surplus population. It may be viewed as a brain drain, in the sense that the source countries involved lose already trained experts or people of high potential. It may be taken also, now as an established cultural ethos

of the area, in the sense that, once begun and once the success stories are there, then more and more young people will look forward to going away, then more and more children will want to follow these young people, then more and more parents will want their children to go away. So, whether you want to admit it or not, there is the concern, there is an orientation, some orientation to going away ... whether it is to study, make money and return or go to the bright lights, the industrial city, whatever the reason may be. Some governments come to anticipate, facilitate and encourage emigration -- also as a subtle recourse in the face of impending political and economic crisis. And, as I experienced in my study in Puerto Rico, at one point, planners themselves made plans for the development of that country assuming a certain outward outlook of native people, and a likelihood that significant numbers of them would have been emigrating annually to the United States.

It strikes me that some decision has to be made in the large context of "development" of the area, as how to relate to this emigration phenomenon. Do we consider people who have left the homeland lost? Or do you find some new definition of nation, and put new emphasis on people themselves as linkages which make it possible to benefit from those who have gone to foreign lands? Do you try to discourage their leaving? Or do you decide that some people would be going anyway and thus prepare them, in the sense, for that going? Or to go further, do you then prepare them to be able to maintain or acquire meaningful, self-respecting positions in that new society? Do you educate them -- so that once they have left they won't forget but, rather feel that they must maintain a loyal and meaningful relationship with the homeland? Finally, do you educate people with the understanding that there is some selection taking place in terms of the people who leave; and that it is by actual return-or by way of some other indirect manner that these people having left, can make the most significant contributions to the development of their countries of birth or ancestry?

And so, two questions: (1) what kind of education -- what are the implications for the native educational system, in the Caribbean, given the reality of emigration ethos, persistent out-flow, and even subtle support of their national governments? (2) what kinds of parallel and insightful set of complementory demands or innovations must take place in the United States, for West

Indian immigrants and their offspring, giving the idea that the education these people would receive must directly or indirectly affect the welfare of the islands from which they came?

That is, should American education, at least in the metropolitan areas, have as one of its functions or objectives to prepare people who would then be able to return to their native land? Or, people who will be able to capitalize on the relative bountifulness of the economic system here, and thus therefore, be able to send back remittances, make investments, give advice, or whatever technical services to the advancement of their homeland and its interest?

There is one other point that I will make on the question of immigration, and that is, as I suggested to you before, that the new immigrant, really has two pots in which he "melts", rather than one in most cases. In the case of the Dutchman who came here, he was sort of subjected to being an American. Americanization meant in his case a subtle change from being a White Dutchman to being a White American. If he reached a point where he lost his accent, and changed his name as well, then for all purposes he would be an American of English ancestry. But he need not go that far to gain general acceptance and status of an "American" from his native born white peers.

In the case of a non-white person coming from Curacao or Surinam, it is quite a different situation. If he becomes American in culture, and continues to maintain the name, it is sort of peculiarity because some people cannot attach this foreign sounding name to a black, especially if it is Dutch. (If it is French, there is a place for it--New Orleans perhaps, and if it is Spanish, Puerto Rico. Not France or Spain, and certainly not New England, deep South or Midwest; perhaps colonial New York or New Jersey but few people will make that connection.) To have such a name or accent makes him "foreign" and to lose them makes him "black" and "minority

But, now, the problem is, of course, that the United States has undergone a certain degree of polarization by a sort of latent or renascent development of black consciousness. Politically and psychologically, that quite often means - to be Black, does not necessarily mean to be American, if American means to be White. The contemporary American scene is a pluralistic sort of situation, with so much yet in juxtaposition that

being American and being Black do not necessarily always coincide. At times these two beings are in competition, or even open conflict. In some cases, it might even represent an arena of counter-cultural points of view, insofar as Blacks and whites go. This circumstance calls for heightened sensitivity, frequent redefinition of the situation, shifting styles, and so on. How, and what English do you speak at given times? How do you respond to white Americans, to Black Americans, to other West Indians to other Blacks, to other minorities, or to non-Black West Indians. The rules of the game become complicated, and old guidelines, statures, and codes of the islands lose their viability. So what I am saying is that it is a different, new, and complex learning situation indeed for West Indians.

Recently, I have observed a sort of interesting twist to the West Indian immigrants' experience. And that is, generally the myth is, and I think this is quite true where there is evidence to the point, that Black immigrants and their children do relatively well in the United States. That is, you have a number of them who have been successful and have participated beyond their number in leadership roles within the larger Black community, in political terms, in business terms, in educational terms and so on. But these tend to be of earlier migration waves and often second generation West Indian-Americans.

What has become true in this particular time is that a good number of the younger West Indian immigrants and descendants of immigrants are experiencing intense conflict and multiple levels of identity that even native Black Americans do not have to go through. In some cases, they are unable to cope with it, and neither native Black or White counselors can provide the support and tools for dealing with such conflict. Having taught at, at least, two major eastern universities, (Hunter College and Yale University) had I the time I could relate to you the very serious painful, tragic dilemma of identity problems that are faced by young Haitians, West Indians, Puerto Ricans, who come to the U.S. and this includes those born and residing here, as well as those studying here as foreign University students.

What I am trying to say is, there are additional levels on which American education needs to be sensitive to the Caribbean region. American educators have reasons for expanding inter-regional seminars such as these from discussion panels to joint workshops where cross-

cultural, educational strategy must be dealt with. American schools and colleges in the major cities must be asked to be more responsive to the particular problems of West Indian immigrant children. And, appreciation of the Caribbean, its geography, histories, cultures, social systems, its economic relations and its ambitions of development also need to be promoted in the curriculum content and activities of American schools. Cooperation, not simply cordiality and communication, must take place between the educational systems of the islands, and the educational system of the United States, if the ideal for either side is really to capitalize on and maximize the gains that West Indian peoples may acquire in their U.S. experience as immigrants or students.

Roy Bryce-LaPorte
(Editorial Comments)

As the Working Party of West Indian and American professional educators debated the relevant issues which should be the sine qua non for the Caribbean -- U.S. Educational Exchange, missions and directions loomed large. As a provocative aspect of this frame of reference, the subject of emigration was a natural. Our guest lecturer developing this subject, Dr. R.S. Bryce-LaPorte, poses a number of questions not only significant to the planners of education for students in the Caribbean countries but also for U.S. planners who should concern themselves seriously about that segment of the elementary, secondary and college population that is at once West Indian and American ... or tries to be. Dr. Bryce-LaPorte does not deal with the benefits that would accrue to the U.S. educational scene, if the vibrant, creative and fertile intelligence and industry of West Indians or Americans of West Indian ancestry were seen as a ready resource and if such minority students were to be encouraged to hold and to share their cultural strengths and experiences as they accommodated to U.S. culture. He does, however, pose searchingly the dilemma of the Caribbean "brain drain", the cost of such losses to the Caribbean governments who get small returns from their educational investments in those citizens who leave to make substantive and constructive contributions in the U.S.A. and in other parts of the world. During a decade in Africa, I encountered frequently talented, trained intellectuals from the West Indies whose services were forever lost to their island cultures.

The issue is just as germane as one considers the loss of talented citizens from one island to another -- so distinctly disparate are the cultural, economic, political and social characteristics of each governing entity. Add to this dilemma, that of a valid definition of the West Indies to encompass West Indian cultural communities on the mainland of North and South America, such as Guyana, Panama, Brazil and Honduras. Dr. Bryce-LaPorte himself belongs to this latter West Indian world so frequently invisible to the typical student of the West Indian cultural milieu.

The final part of this presentation deals rightly with the West Indian student population which continues to be

a vital percentage of the foreign student enrollment, particularly at our Black institutions of higher learning. The responsibility of U.S. educators to cooperatively plan with Caribbean Universities and research agencies the sort of curriculum content and activities which will, as he puts it, "maximize the gains that West Indian peoples may acquire in their U.S. experience" leads to the pressing need for a more intercultural-international approach to all basic academic disciplines. This academic responsibility also entails a mutual involvement in reversing the "brain drain" or promoting continuous exchanges which would make possible the interim or intermittent return of these immigrants to the islands of their ancestry to serve in the ultimate enrichment of the educational milieu in the Caribbean, as well as in the U.S.A.

As the last of four areas of concern demanding some clear sense of mission and direction, "Options for Consideration in Caribbean Education" is an excellent position paper for future exploration and resolution.

University and Farmer Cooperatives in North Carolina: Model for Developing Regions

Paper Presented By Basil G. Coley

Statement of the Problem

The structural dimensions of the farming industry have been described as typically atomistic. As such, farmers are regarded as price takers. They cannot influence the prices of the inputs they buy or of the products they sell. Because of this seemingly weak bargaining power, farmers have turned to the formation of cooperatives with the hope of improving their bargaining position and thus their price and income positions. The history of farmer cooperatives in the United States reveals that they have had their "fair share" of problems, but nevertheless they have surmounted many of them and today farmer cooperatives remain a viable force in American agriculture. Farmers in the United States have secured many economic and social benefits from farmer cooperatives and since cooperatives have been thriving in this country since it was basically an agrarian economy, it is felt that farmer cooperatives can have positive impact on agricultural development in the developing countries.

Scope and Objectives

This paper is, therefore, designed to describe the nature of farmer cooperatives in North Carolina, to indicate the role of the university in regards to these cooperatives, and to assess their implications as a model for developing countries.

SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF FARMER COOPERATIVES

Cooperative Defined

The term "cooperative" has been defined in many ways. For example, Khols has indicated that H.E. Babcock, an eastern cooperative leaders, who said that "cooperatives are legal, practical means by which a group of self-elected, selfish capitalists seek to improve their individual economic position in a competitive society." [1] According to Olsen "it is an economic organization that functions in a democracy and it is a business operated in the interest of those who use its services." [2] For the purpose of this paper, the definition given by Erdman and Tinley will be used. They define a cooperative "as a voluntary organization of persons with common interests, formed and operated along democratic lines for the purpose supplying services at cost to its members who contribute both capital and business."[3]

Cooperative as a Type of Business Organization

A cooperative is generally regarded as one of the four types of business organizations in this country. The other types are single proprietorship, partnership, and the corporation. Some important similarities and differences between these various types of business organizations are shown in Table I.

The Historical Background

Contrary to popular belief, the cooperative method of conducting business has long been noted in history. Cooperatives or quasi-cooperative structures were in existence dating from the inception of the old Egyptian Empire beginning approximately in the year 3000 B.C.[4]. They began with the craftsmen and artisans during the reign of the Pharoahs. In 1844, the Rochdale group in England pioneered what was to become a truly cooperative type of business organization. The colonists, upon arrival in America, attempted some forms of communal or collective farming, but abandoned this in favor of private cultivation within a short time. In 1752, Benjamin Franklin became perhaps the first American cooperator with the organization of a mutual insurance cooperative in Philadelphia.

The present stage of development of cooperatives in the United States has not been reached without many years of struggle and experimenting with various methods of

operations. In its development, farmers have had encouragement and assistance from farm organizations, federal and state universities, and from land grant colleges. Churches and major political parties have also endorsed cooperatives.

During the very early days of this country, farmers joined together to clear forests and husk corn as they pushed westward on the new frontier. Thus the idea of sharing labor and resources is as old as American agriculture and the natural foundation for farmer cooperatives was laid.

The period from the end of the Civil War up to the early 20th century was one of growth for cooperatives. During this time there was much agricultural ferment which fostered the evolution of many farm organizations. These farm organizations in their early days gave a great deal of emphasis to farmer cooperatives.

The National Grange was formed in 1867 and became very active in organizing local cooperative buying and selling clubs among farmers. The cooperative activities of the Grange expanded rapidly and reached a peak in 1877 and then declined rapidly. During that year the Grange had over 30 thousand cooperatives with a membership of about 2.5 million people.[5] The Grange cooperatives deteriorated because they gradually lost their cooperative charter and passed into private hands due primarily to lack of adequate cooperative statutes. Other general farm organizations also sponsored cooperatives as a part of their overall program to help farmers. Some of these were: (1) Farmers Alliance, (2) American Society of Equity, (3) Farmers Equity Union, (4) Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, and (5) American Farm Bureau Federation.

Thousands of cooperatives were organized because of these early efforts of farm organizations. Many failed because of inexperience and unsound planning. However, as time elapsed, farmers began to understand the requirements necessary to make cooperatives successful.

Cooperative and Federal Support

In the early 1900's several events stimulated cooperative development: (1) in 1908, President Roosevelt created the Country Life Commission which produced a report which urged farmers to form and use cooperatives, (2) in 1913 President Woodrow Wilson sent a commission to Europe to study cooperatives. The report of this commission elucidated the potential value of cooperatives and the need for legislation in several states to strengthen opportunities for them.

The Farmer Cooperative Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture was set up in 1953 and delegated the responsibility for research, technical assistance, and educational work with cooperatives. The Farmer Cooperative Service works closely with the extension services and other personnel in universities, banks for cooperatives, state association and others in helping farmers increase the effectiveness of their cooperatives.

Legal Basis for Cooperatives

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act which was passed by Congress in 1890 declared as illegal every contract, combination in the form of trust, or conspiracy in restraint of trade. It made no reference to cooperatives and so a number of cooperatives were indicted under this law. The Capper-Volstead Act of 1922 which is frequently referred to as a "Magna Carter" of cooperatives was the legal foundation upon which cooperative marketing of agricultural products, or obtaining farm supplies was built. However, cooperatives do not incorporate under the Capper-Volstead Act; they incorporate under State Statutes.

In order to assist in providing credit for cooperatives, the Federal Farm Loan Board and the Federal Land Banks were created by law in 1916. Also, the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks were formed in 1923. The Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921 made provisions that cooperatives should not be prohibited from returning net savings to members after deducting operative costs. The Cooperative Marketing Act of 1926 created an office in the U.S. Department of Agriculture to give service to cooperatives. This act authorized the Farmer Cooperative Service to do research, give technical assistance, and perform educational work with cooperatives.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 made it a policy of the U.S. to encourage the development and use of cooperatives in developing countries.

Financing Cooperatives

Adequate financing is of serious importance to all business organizations. Capital in all business may be classified into equity capital and creditor capital. A cooperative can receive creditor capital from the same source as other businesses, but its major sources of equity capital are: (1) common stock, (2) preferred stock, (3) unallocated reserves, (4) allocated patronage credits, and (5) revolving retained earnings.

Common and preferred stocks are similar modes of financing to that used by the corporation. The par value of a

cooperative stock, however, is usually very low and varies from $1 - $25 per share. Cooperatives financed by common stock use it as a basis for voting. Unallocated reserves are surpluses set aside to meet unplanned financial obligations of the cooperative.

Retained unallocated earnings, sometimes termed certificates of indebtedness, is a method whereby retained earnings are allocated to patrons with or without a specific due date. If they are redeemable at a specific date, they are classified as current liabilities under the capital or net worth section of the balance sheet; that is, they are comparable to preferred stock.

Under the revolving retained earnings plan, the members contract with the association that a flat rate per unit marketed, a percentage of the total sales proceeds, or a percentage of the margins to which they are entitled as a patronage refund be loaned to the cooperative for capital purposes. When the capital needs of the cooperative are fully met, it starts revolving back these funds to its members in the order in which they were collected.

Most cooperatives use the revolving fund method whereby after the 20 percent legal case refund requirement to patrons has been made, anything in excess of this may be used to provide the cooperative with operating capital. To the extent that this capital is revolved out to the members on a timely basis, they may consider it a net addition to price. However, to the extent that producers become uncertain about realizing their share of this fund, it plays a lesser role in their decision regarding where to sell their products.

Even more serious are cooperatives that pay members only the going price plus the required 20 percent legal refund, even though monopolistic profits exist in the market.

Organizations Founded by Farmers

Farmers have developed organizations at the state and national levels to represent them in such fields as legislature, education, and public relations. About 39 states and Puerto Rico have councils, associations, federations, or committees of cooperatives. Examples of these organizations are: (1) the American Institute of Cooperation which was primarily developed as an educational association, (2) the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives which primarily handles legislature and government relationships, public relations, and other such activities, (3) the Cooperative League of America which handles activities similar to those handled by the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives.

All of these organizations operate in the State of North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA COOPERATIVE MODEL

Legal Environment*

It was previously mentioned that the Capper-Volstead Act gave individuals the right to form cooperatives, but all cooperatives are chartered under state laws. In North Carolina cooperatives are chartered under Subchapter IV, articles 16, 17, and 18, Subchapter V, articles 19, 20, 21, and 22 of Chapter 54 of the General Statutes of North Carolina. Article 19 declares that "in order to promote, foster, and encourage the intelligent and orderly producing and marketing of agricultural products through cooperatives, and to eliminate speculation and waste, and to make the distribution of agricultural products as direct as can be efficiently done between the producer and consumer, and to stabilize the marketing problems of agricultural products, this subchapter is enacted."

Who May Organize

Five or more persons engaged in the production of agricultural products may form a non-profit cooperative association with or without capital stock under the provisions of the subchapter.

Purposes

An organization may be organized to engage in any activity in connection with producing, marketing, or selling of the agricultural products of its members and other farmers or with the harvesting, preserving, drying, processing, canning, packing, storing, handling, shipping, or utilization thereof of the manufacturing or marketing of the by-products thereof, or in connection with the manufacturing, selling or supplying to its members of machinery, equipment, or supplies, or the financing of the above enumerated activities or in any one or more of these activities specified herein.

Articles of Incorporation

Each association formed under the subchapter must prepare and file articles of incorporation setting forth: (1) the

*For further details see, North Carolina Department of Agriculture, North Carolina Mutual Association and Cooperative Laws, Raleigh, N.C.

name of the association, (2) the purposes for which it is formed, (3) the place where its principal business will be transacted, (4) the duration of the period, which may be perpetual, (5) the names and addresses of not less than five of those who are to serve as directors for the first term or until the election of their successors, (6) if organized without capital stock, whether the property rights and interests of each member shall be equal or unequal, and if unequal the article shall set forth the general rule or rules applicable to all members by which the property rights and interests respectively of each member may and shall be determined and fixed, (7) if organized with capital stock, the amount of such stock, and the number of such shares into which it is divided and the par value thereof; the capital stock may be divided into preferred and common stock. If so divided, the articles of incorporation must contain a statement of the number of stock to which preference is granted and the number of shares of stock to which no preference is granted, and the nature or extent of the preference and privileges granted to each.

Associations not in Restraint of Trade

No association organized hereunder shall be deemed to be a combination in restraint of trade or an illegal monopoly, or an attempt to lessen competition or fix prices arbitrarily. Nor shall the marketing contracts or agreements between the association and its members or any agreements authorized in this subchapter be considered illegal or in restraint of trade.

Filing Fees

For filing articles, an association organized hereunder shall pay $10 and for filing an amendment to articles, $2.50.

Members

Under the terms and conditions described in its by-laws, an association as members may issue common stock only to persons engaged in the production of agricultural products including the lessees and tenants of land used for the production of such products and any lessors and landlords who receive as rent part of the crops raised on the leased premises.

Stock, Membership Certificates, Voting, Liability, Limitations on Transfer of Ownership

The law also states the following:

a. When a member of an association established

without capital stock has paid his membership fee in full, he shall receive a certificate of membership.

b. No association shall issue stock to a member until it has been fully paid for.

c. Except for the debts lawfully contracted between him and the association, no member shall be liable for debts of the association to an amount exceeding the sum remaining unpaid on his membership fee or his subscription to the capital stock including any unpaid balances on any promissory notes given in payment thereof.

d. A cooperative association under this subchapter may fix or limit in its by-laws the amount of stock which one might own in the said association.

e. No member or stock holder shall be entitled to more than one vote.

f. Any association organized with stock under this subchapter may issue preferred stock with or without the right to vote.

g. The by-laws prohibit the transfer of the common stock of the association to persons not engaged in the production of agricultural products handled by the association, and such restrictions must be printed upon every certificate of stock subjected thereto.

Marketing Contract

The association and its members make and execute contracts requesting the members to sell for any period of time in over 10 years all or any specified part of their agricultural products, or specified commodities exclusively to or through the association, or any facilities created by their association. The contract may provide that the association may sell the products of its members with or without taking title thereto and pay over to its members the sale price after deducting all necessary selling overhead and other costs expenses, including interest on preferred stock, not exceeding 8% per annum, and reserves for retiring the stock, if any.

Kinds of Cooperatives

In accordance with the general classifications of cooperatives according to the tasks performed, the following types of farmer cooperatives exist in North Carolina: (1) marketing, (2) purchasing, and (3) service.

Marketing Cooperatives: Marketing cooperatives are those which are organized to sell farmers' products. Usually these cooperatives collect, grade and package the products. Some act as bargaining agents and do not actually handle the products, while others will actually buy the commodities from the farmer for resale. The principal farm commodities marketed by farmer cooperatives in North Carolina in descending order of importance are: tobacco, dairy products, poultry and poultry products, grain (including soybeans, soybean meal and oil), fruits, vegetables and cotton. Farmers marketing cooperatives have sought to achieve their objective of maximizing members' returns by (1) reduction of marketing margins, (2) improving marketing efficiency, (3) influencing market supply, (4) influencing demand and (5) choice of marketing method.

1. Reduction of marketing margins--Efforts to reduce marketing margins by cooperatives originally concentrated on the elimination of the middleman, particularly his profits. This was the original basis for the inception of marketing cooperatives.

2. Improving marketing efficiency--This is closely related to the reduction of marketing margin. Cooperatives have discovered that in order to reduce the marketing margin, efficiencies had to be developed in which the cooperative could do the job more economically than other agencies. Since it is the aim of the cooperative to provide the best service for a number of patron-members, it is generally eager to adopt waste reducing practices and utilize economies of scale whenever this is possible.

3. Influencing market supply--Managing the supply of the product is also considered a potent means whereby cooperatives can increase returns payable to their members. It was expected that a cooperative could, by contracting with its members, control the marketing of a significant portion of a product and thereby obtain higher prices for its members, thus counter-acting the effects of near monopoly conditions.

4. Influencing demand--Cooperatives have tried to influence consumer demand by advertizing. Paying for products according to quality in order to increase consumer satisfaction is also another means by which cooperatives have sought to influence consumer demand.

5. Choice of marketing method--there are three principal methods by which cooperatives market farmers products: (1) buying outright for cash, (2) buying on individual account, and (3) pooling.

In buying outright for cash, the cooperative pays cash and takes title to the products at the time of delivery and sells them in the market. If the products are sold at prices above those which were paid for them and high enough to cover all expenses and reserves and still leave a net earning, then the net earning is returned to the members as patronage payment at the end of the accounting period.

When the individual account method is used, cash is not paid for the product on delivery. The cooperative such as some livestock shipping associations, pays the farmers for the products after they have been sold. The expenses of the association are deducted from the sales value and the farmer receives the remainder. In this way the association does not take title to the product, does not need cash to buy the goods and does not have the financial risk inherent in the ownership of the product.

In selling goods through cooperatives growers nearly always participate in some sort of pooling arrangement. The principal feature of pooling is that of pooling all the cash receipts from sale of the commodities and later distributing these, minus the deductions of expenses, to the contributors to the pool. In doing this, any one of three distinct practices may be followed: (1) all products, ungraded, may be placed in one pool and the same average net price is paid all members, (2) all products may be graded and placed in only one pool. Poolers are paid prices for separate grades on a differential basis, (3) all products are graded and each grade, style, variety or class constitutes a separate pool. Most pooling associations use either of the last two methods. The advantages of pooling are: (a) when growers' commodities are pooled, the grower may receive an advance of a percentage of the basic price of the commodity delivered. The final price is based on the proceeds of the entire quantity within the pool. This lessens the need for capital by the cooperative, (b) the cooperative is provided with

increased bargaining power, and (c) waste in marketing is small as individual lots are eliminated.

Purchasing Cooperatives: These are cooperatives through which members buy the supplies they need such as the various forms of agricultural inputs. Often they engage in retailing and wholesaling. Characteristically, farmers have sold their output at wholesale prices, while inputs were purchased at retail prices. They purchased in relatively small amounts and therefore, often paid premium prices for their inputs such as feeds, fertilizers, farm equipment and petroleum products. In order to overcome this problem, farmers have turned to the cooperative as an economic tool. The important supplies purchased by farmers in North Carolina in descending order of importance are: feed, fertilizer, petroleum products, sprays, and building materials.

These purchasing cooperatives do not usually require members to sign an agreement. Members are free to buy farm supplies wherever they choose. However, some cooperatives stipulate a minimum annual patronage requirement and non-farmers may be patrons, but they are excluded from membership. The major objectives of purchasing cooperatives are to secure savings for their members by purchasing in large quantities, distributing supplies at minimum cost and securing the type and quality of supplies that are best adapted to the members' needs.

Service Cooperatives: Cooperatives in North Corolina are not only pertinent to improvement of the income position of farmers, but some are designed to improve the quality of life of farmers by providing various services that would otherwise be deficient.

Today, many families in rural North Carolina would have been deprived of electricity and telephones had it not been for farmer cooperatives. In some areas electric and telephone cooperatives have exclusive rights to serve the area and, therefore, anyone living in these areas who wants the service must become a member of the cooperative.

Telephone cooperatives are also important in providing telephone service to rural people at cost and farm insurance cooperatives are important to North Carolina farmers in protecting them against losses that might be due to fire and inclement weather.

It is important to note that the specific examples of cooperatives that have been discussed do not in any way exhaust the nature of the functions of farmer cooperatives

in North Carolina, but merely are given as examples.

Farmer Cooperative in North Carolina Relative to Farmer Cooperatives at the National Level

Table 2 shows that during the year 1964-65 there were 8,583 farmer cooperatives in the United States with an estimated membership of 7,082,010. These have declined to 7,790 in 1969-70 with an estimated membership of 6,354,980. Thus, there was a decline of 9.2 percent in number of cooperatives and 10.26 percent in membership. North Carolina experienced a decline in number of cooperatives during this period also. In 1964-65 there were 40 cooperatives with headquarters in the state with an estimated membership of 299,135, but during 1969-70 the number of cooperatives had declined to 38 with a membership of 155,680. Thus, there was a decline of 5 percent in the number of cooperatives, but a tremendous decline of 47.9 percent in membership. These declines seem to be attributed to the general decline in farm population and the rapid industrialization occurring in rural areas in North Carolina, thus providing more non-farm jobs.

When the number of cooperatives which are not headquartered in the state were considered, there was a total of 56 cooperatives doing business in the state in 1964-65 and 55 in 1969-70 (Table 3). Gross volume of sales for all cooperatives doing business in the state increased from $297,326 thousand in 1964-65 to $353,450,000 in 1969-70 which was an increase of 18.9 percent. At the national level, the gross volume of business done by farmer cooperatives in 1964-65 was $19,623,961,000 while that which was done in 1969-70 was $24,765,955,000. This was an increase of 26.2 percent Thus, the trends in farmer cooperatives in North Carolina are consistent with national trends; these are, decreases in number and membership and increases in gross volume of business.

In terms of average size of farmer cooperatives, this can be measured according to membership or volume of business.* During 1964-65 the average number of members per cooperative at the national level was 825, while that per cooperative in North Carolina was 7,478. In 1969-70 the average number of members per cooperative at the national level was 816, while that for North Carolina was 4,0[illegible]. Therefore, there has been a rapid decline in the number of members per cooperative in North Carolina, but in this regard North Carolina still remains high above the national average.

*Calculations of average size are made from Tables 2 and 3

When average size was measured according to gross volume of business, the national average per cooperative in 1964-65 was $2,286,375, while that for North Carolina was $5,309,392. During 1969-70 the average gross volume of business done per cooperative was $3,179 at the national level and $5,437,692 for North Carolina; therefore, by this criteria the average size of cooperatives in North Carolina also exceeds the national average.

In terms of other rankings, in 1969-70 North Carolina ranked 36th in the nation in number of cooperatives headquartered in the state, 34th in the nation in number of cooperatives operating in the state, 14th in the nation in membership and 24th in gross volume of business.** Therefore, farmer cooperatives are quite viable in the North Carolina farm economy.

The Role of the University in Farmer Cooperatives in North Carolina

As is typical of many states in this country, the Land Grant College System of North Carolina assists farmers in their cooperative endeavors. With the exception of one study that has been done by Robinson[6] at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University at Greensboro, most of the work relating to cooperatives has been done at North Carolina State University in Raleigh and most of the discussion which is presented in this section has been secured by interviewing members of the faculty at that university who are assigned to work with farmer cooperatives. The major contributions of the university to farmer cooperatives have been research, education, consultation, and the creation of public awareness and understanding.

Research: Two types of research are carried out by the University; futuristic and applied. Futuristic or long range research is designed to develop economic, social, or other kinds of models related to cooperatives. The extension service then translates these theoretical models into workable tools. Applied research has been concerned with the performance of a specific job for a specific cooperative. In this regard, the University has one individual whose specific job is to coordinate the University's work with farmer cooperatives. For example, if the members of a cooperative are experiencing a particular problem, the University's coordinator would first be consulted and he would contact the particular

**These values were computed from Tables given in Farmer Cooperative Service, Statistics of Farmer Cooperatives, 1969-70.

specialist whether he is in marketing, commodities, agricultural engineering or any other field of cooperative expertise. In this way, the different disciplines of the University can be effectively used by the farmer cooperatives in the state.

Education: The second contribution that the University has been making towards the development of cooperatives in North Carolina is via its educational thrust. The extension service has been entrusted with this responsibility. The educational program include seminars for managers, employees, accountants, individuals in technical areas and for members of the board of directors. The University also coordinates the allocation of federal funds that are made available to it for use in continuing education programs for cooperative members. The county agent plays an important role in advising farmers on cooperative principles and, therefore, it is necessary for him to be continually improving his skills. In order to do this, the entire array of disciplines at the university that are related to cooperatives are at his disposal for necessary guidance.

Another aspect of education is the function of the University in teaching cooperative principles not only to students who are majoring in various areas related to agriculture but also to students of other disciplines, such as law, political science, etc. The university also is quite involved in working with 4-H Clubs throughout the state and in this way a medium is provided for the introduction of young people to cooperative business.

Consultation: The third contribution that the university makes towards fostering the development of farmer cooperatives is that of providing consultation. If a group of farmers decides to establish a cooperative they would first contact the coordinator at the University The coordinator would then consult with different specialists on the staff, as he deems necessary, then organize and conduct a feasibility study. Upon completion of the study, the specialists would advise the prospective members whether in their opinion the cooperative would be a feasible undertaking. Should the specialists from the University advise against the establishing of the cooperative and the farmers still want to proceed with their plans, they are free to do so, because in no way does the university become involved in the registering and legal aspects of cooperatives. This is done by the Department of Agriculture.

Public Understanding: Lastly, the University is involved in securing public understanding of cooperatives. Through the use of newsletters, feature articles and

the University press, the public is made aware of the current work of various cooperatives in the state.

IMPLICATIONS OF FARMER COOPERATIVES IN NORTH CAROLINA FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The important question is, how can farmer cooperatives in North Carolina be used as a model for developing countires?

It must first be noted that models for developed economies cannot be readily transplanted in the developing countries. So, in an attempt to answer this question, it appears obvious to first examine some of the factors that have led to the success of cooperatives in North Carolina. Some of these factors are:

1. There must be a felt need for the cooperative by those who propose to participate in it.
2. The project must be feasible.
3. There must be the proper legal environment.
4. Farmers must be taught the principles of cooperatives.
5. Efficient management is required.
6. Technical assistance must be readily available.
7. Definite procedures and standards are needed for the Board of Directors of the cooperative.
8. Members must be kept informed and feel a sense of belonging to the organization.
9. Prompt and accurate financial returns to patrons are essential.
10. There must be adequate volume of products.
11. Farmers must have faith in the organization and ability to work together.
12. The democratic principles must be adhered to.

The Land Grant College System in North Carolina provides many services related directly or indirectly to these factors as previously indicated. It is evident that farmer cooperatives in North Carolina are fairly sophisticated forms of business organizations. The large volume of business that is done per cooperative is indicative that highly qualified managers are necessary. The University's program is designed to train such managers and together with this, the extension officer provides much assistance to farmers who are interested in cooperatives. It is not intended that one should conclude that the operation of cooperatives in North Carolina possesses no element that can provide a model for developing economies. In fact, it does provide a model. The level of sophistication that has been achieved in this state is not expected to be achieved in the developing countries immediately, because, of course, it was developed in this state over a period of years. The invaluable points that the developing countries can learn are the factors that have made farmer cooperatives succeed in North Carolina. Efforts on the part of the government will be required to create the laws that are necessary to clearly delineate legal dimensions of cooperatives. Training of cooperative managers and leaders can become a functional part of the universities of the developing countries, and most important will be the education of farmers in cooperative activity. Considering the high rate of illiteracy in the developing countries, this will be the crux of the problem because it must be remembered that the ultimate success of the cooperative will rest with the farmers themselves.

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See following pages for tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table I. Similarities and differences between types of business organizations

Types of business org.	Control of firm	Motive for operating	Distribution of earnings	Process of voting	Owners Liability	Patronage
Single proprietorship	Individual	Profit	To individual	None	- All property of individuals excepting legal exemptions.	Public
Partnership	Partners	Profit	To partners	Agreement	- All properties of all partners, excepting legal exemptions.	Public
Corporation	Board of directors elected by stockholders	Profit	To owners on basis of number of shares held	Usually one vote for each share of stock	- Assets of the corporation	Public
Cooperative	Board of directors elected by patron-owners	Profit	To patron on a patronage basis	One member has one vote	- Assets of the cooperative	Mostly members but some non members

Table 2. Number of cooperatives in the U.S., those headquartered in North Carolina and estimated membership by year

Year	Cooperatives in the United States		Cooperatives headquartered in North Carolina	
	Number	Membership	Number	Membership
1964-65	8,583	7,082,101	40	299,135
1967-68	7,940	6,445,410	39	176,860
1968-69	7,747	6,363,555	40	156,645
1969-70	7,790	6,354,980	38	155,680

Source: Farmer Cooperative Service, Statistics of Farmer Cooperatives, various years.

Table 3. Number of cooperatives in the U.S., number doing business in North Carolina and gross volume of business

Year	Cooperatives in the United States		Cooperatives doing business in North Carolina	
	Number	Gross volume of business ($1,000)	Number	Gross volume of business ($1,000)
1964-65	8,583	19,623,961	56	297,326
1967-68	7,940	22,413,959	57	307,426
1968-69	7,747	22,747,984	57	310,443
1969-70	7,790	24,765,955	65	353,450

Source: Farmer Cooperative Service, Statistics of Farmer Cooperatives, various years.

Basil G. Coley
(Editorial Comments)

An educational exchange involving Caribbean cultures that are basically agricultural would be shortsighted, if it failed to deal with agriculture in some degree. Because Dr. Basil G. Coley is Jamaican by origin and American by academic conditioning and training, he was an appropriate choice to explore a significant agricultural instrument -- the farmer cooperative. As an option, the cooperative is both a system and a service; as such it has both political and cultural implications. The lessons to be drawn from the model are highly relevant to the Caribbean agricultural milieu. One of the most challenging presentations during the seminar at the Mona campus, University of the West Indies, was that of a Jamaican with long experience in agricultural organizations not unlike that of the farmer cooperative movement. The genesis of the organization which provided his experience was basically British and the transisition from colonial control to native Jamaican responsibility was a difficult and demanding process, as he described it.

Dr. Coley's paper is the most specific and academic among the presentations. He has, of course, set as his task the exposition of a mechanism or a process, the description of a state model, and the linkage of a particular state university program with the cooperative mechanism in one state -- the state of North Carolina where he teaches and pursues research in Agricultural Economics. For his layman audience, drawn from non-economic and non-agricultural disciplines, Dr. Coley provides a detailed, clear expectation of terms, principles, comparative statistics, and illustration. Some of the Caribbean nations involved in the Exchange are no larger than the state Dr. Coley used as his model; none of them, however, are without the severe disability of high rates of illiteracy which he rightly cites as an important consideration in the implementation of such a mechanism as a farmer cooperative.

Using North Carolina as a case study, Dr. Coley attempts to provide guidelines for the transplanting of such a process. His enumeration of factors which have led to

the success of cooperatives in North Carolina is a useful yardstick for a feasibility approach to the initiation of such cooperatives. He does not, of course, deal with those specific or unique elements in any Caribbean nation which would be major obstacles to the success of such a venture: road communication systems, information or public media services, legal naivete, political unsophistication among the rural farm population, equipment maintenance and replacement, or health as a deterrent to maximum performance in the cooperative process. He has left this task to the enterprising Caribbean agricultural economists. Because he does have a basic awareness of the traditional agriculture scene in Jamaica and because his exchange took him into Barbados as a cultural contrast, it would have been meaningful had he used this Caribbean reality to suggest what hindrances he sees ahead for Caribbean communities deciding to try such an option. Such an exercise remains, therefore, to be done by professionals in some such future exchange.

The Future of Musical Instruction and Training: Popular and Folk vs Classical
Paper Presented By Huel D. Perkins

Introduction

In 1970, a very provocative book appeared in America. Its title was The Greening of America; its author was Charles Reich, a law professor at Yale University; and its thesis was that a cultural revolution was taking place in America which would significantly affect every facet of life in that country. Specifically, Reich submitted that America had undergone three general types of consciousnesses. The first had been formed in the first half of the nineteenth century and was the traditional outlook of the American farmer, small worker and businessman. The second consciousness or consciousness II emerged in the first half of this century and represented the values of an organized, corporate, concrete, technological society. The third consciousness was just now appearing on the scene and it represented new values based upon human life, self-fulfillment, active concerns for the ills of the world and its exponents were the new generation of young people of high school and college age groups.

Aside from consciousness III's openess to any and all experience, its energetic way of life, its freedom of dress, the most interesting aspect of the movement is the way it regards music. Music for this new generation has begun to replace words as a means of communication. Music has become a way of life and not a pastime. It has become deeply personal, allowing individuals and groups to express their special view of the world. The new movement and its music have spawned more rock groups, combos, solo singers, bands than ever before in the history of musical art. But the movement was neither rock, nor blues, nor jazz, nor semi-classical, nor folk, nor ballad, nor country and western--it was all of these and it was more of these. Reich observed:

> "But no single form of music can really claim pre-eminence. It is the richness and variety and continually changing quality of the new music that is its essence. It defies analysis and explication by critics because it never stands still to be analyzed; it ranges from the mystic expressiveness of Procol Harum, the emotional intensity of Jimi Hendrix, the heavy sounds of Led Zeppelin, to anywhere else the heads of the new generation have been. Its essence is the total scene: a huge and happy

noontime crowd in Lower Sproul Plaza at Berkeley, some standing, some sitting, some dancing; every variety of clothes and costume, knapsacks and rolled-up sleeping bags; piled-up Afro hair and shoulder-length golden-blond hair; a sense of everyone's sharing the values and experience that the scene represents, music by the Crabs, a local group, mostly soaring, ecstatic, earthly rock that shakes the crowd, the buildings, and the heavens themselves with job; and above the scene, presiding over it, those benevolent deities, the sungod, the ocean breeze, the brown-green Berkeley hills."[1]

If, in fact, there is a new culture developing in America, and if the new means of communication is the art of music, then it follows that musical instruction in the high schools and the universities of America would necessarily have to undergo reappraisal and ultimate revision.

In that this paper will deal with categories and nomenclature of music, a definition of the terms seems appropriate. Usually when one refers to popular music, one generally means the music of the hour or the music which can generally be heard emanating from the radio stations, the juke-boxes, the record shops and the dance halls. When the term "folk" is used it is in regard to music of the people which usually developed anonymously and emanated from the untrained musician as opposed to a composer who had subjected himself to the formal study of music. Classical music, on the other hand, is usually used to describe a body of music which is always composed and written down; it makes use of certain preconceived formal structures and generally is music of and about itself, depending little upon some extra-musical idea for its interpretation, even when upon occasion a literary program is associated with the music. A more workable definition of popular music would be music of the masses in contrast to classical music which might be termed music of the culturally initiated, for generally less time and study is needed for the enjoyment of popular music than is usually associated with the appreciation of classical music. Even another definition of the two types of music has been advanced: popular music is music which is here today but gone tomorrow whereas classical music is music that is perenially popular. For the remainder of this paper, popular music will be defined as the music which is written by contemporary composers for today's audiences while classical music will be regarded as music principally wirtten in the past and also presently with an idea of high seriousness and does not

necessarily direct its appeal toward contemporary tastes or approval.

As one observes the development of musical instruction closely, one is struck by the two types of music which are creeping into the music curricula at the levels of secondary and higher education. There seems to be a definite affinity for music called "rock 'n' roll" and sometimes just "rock" among high school students. This music is popular music and makes full use of the present-day technology in terms of instruments, amplification of sound and special effects. The main instrument is the guitar and groups make use mainly of this instrument, accompanied with drums, piano and usually bass or "fender" bass as it is sometimes called. The colleges and universities, on the other hand, show a predilection for "jazz" music which historically predates "rock 'n' roll" and is a bit more sophisticated and restrained in performances. While jazz is not generally regarded as folk music in the same way in which spirituals, sea chanteys and cowboy songs may be so defined, jazz, nevertheless, has its origin in the souls and minds of the people and the music expresses certain identifiable elements which are associated with American-European-African cultures.

Rock Music in the High Schools

In 1961, James S. Coleman canvassed over 4,000 young people in high schools of varying sizes and found that "rock 'n' roll" was checked by 51 percent of the boys and 48 percent of the girls as the kind of music most enjoyed. Classical music rated only six percent with boys and ten percent with girls despite the fact that a large number of students were members of the band, choir or orchestra.[2] So pervasive has become this new music in the high schools that Hugh D. Maple, in an article entitled "The Taste of Teens," suggested that music educators could not isolate young people from involvement with "rock 'n' roll" during this particular decade. Rather, the music educator must keep before him the task of exploring all music with students so that as the students mature, they will not have been exposed to only one kind of music thus making for a shallow musical life.[3]

Yet, the debate continues and some music educators hold to an opposite point of view. Simon Anderson suggests that popular music need not be taught in the public classrooms. The music will carry itself. The music educators' job is to perpetuate western art music and

to open doors to its perception in the minds of the children of the nation.[4] The attempt should not be made to join in the subculture of youth but rather tell them about the beauties of the old masters and give them a point of reference against which they may proceed to make musical judgements.

In much the same vein, Howard Hanson, who is the retired head of Eastman School of Music, one of the most respected and active music schools in the country, laments the fact that the professional schools will not be able to survive unless a backlog of potential talent flows from the high schools of the land.[5] Four years of college is not enough time in which to develop a first-rate violinist or clarinetist capable of playing symphonic literature. Soon, many schools will find themselves unable to perform certain kinds of literature due to lack of capable instrumentalists.

High school teachers of music admit that they must offer units of instruction dealing with rock, popular, soul, gospel, and country and western music in an attempt to hold the attention of students. The explosion of popular music has been overpowering and the secondary schools have not been able to overlook this fact. One explanation of the popularity of this new music may lie in the fact that the music is simple, easy to play, and that the technical requirements of the music lie within the capabilities of adolescent musicians. Another explanation may be related to the fact that this music is message music, constantly pulling at the audience to recognize the ills of this society and to seek ways to cure them. The music itself suggests an alternative lifestyle to the one which presently exists--a lifestyle in which love, compassion, concern and empathy are the main ingredients. And if, indeed, "rock 'n' roll" lacks what have come to be considered the quality of serious music, it does represent a joyful celebration of what is happening in our times.

Robert Binkley writes that today's child sees music in two contexts. There is music in his world and music in the adult world and the worlds are far apart and that teacher authority is a myth if not recognized by the student. He concludes that: "Instruction as we know it must ultiamtely die. It is already being attacked by modern educators, and many teachers are searching for ways to supplant the old process ...As "rock 'n' roll" is an influential part of modern culture, its instruction and use in the schools can and should be free of the shackles of the more irrelevant past."[6]

While "rock 'n' roll" does not constitute a formal discipline of study in any university, the March 1973 issue of Saturday Review of Literature carried a report of a private, non-profit college offering instruction in "rock 'n' roll". It reported that some 100 students and 12 musician-teachers comprised the college which charged a tuition of $40 per month. For this fee students receive four private lessons, four workshops and three seminars each month. The curriculum itself covers the spectrum from Chicago Blues to country Ballad to English "Rock 'n' Roll."[7]

Jazz in the Colleges

New Orleans, Louisiana is regarded as the birthplace of jazz. It was here that the blending of the musics of West Africa and Europe resulted in the complicated mixture of sound and rhythm. The music of these two continents reached New Orleans principally through the islands of the Caribbeans. Haiti, Trinidad, Cuba, Martinique--all contributed in some way to this new birth of this new music on American Shores.[8] For its first 46 years New Orleans was a French possession and today still reflects the customs which were established during this early period. In 1764, when the city was ceded to Spain, the music of the city resembled the music of the French West Indies, similar to Martinique's or Haiti's. The combination, the timing, and the blend of these diverse styles coupled with the adoption of European instruments and the popularity of military bands produced jazz which appealed to the American Negro as a vehicle for gaining acceptance in a white culture and maybe winning fame and money.

The early uses of this new music did much to affect its present status in terms of acceptance. Jazz music, in its infancy, was regarded as entertainment and used principally in houses of prostitution which abounded in the "red-light" districts of New Orleans. The actual origin of the word "jazz or "jass" has been the subject of much debate but it was usually thought to be synonymous with the sexual act. The word itself and the music associated with it have had to live down this early pejorative connotation and win support. The early opponents of jazz found it immoral and debasing and constantly pointed to its questionable origin. Today, this attitude has reversed itself completely and jazz is now regarded as the one truly American form of music.

Jazz has now become an accepted field of study in many of the colleges across the United States. Although most

colleges are still in the process of building curricula, there are pockets of considerable activity. The first problem in the organizing of jazz studies program appears to be that of winning administrative support for the program. David Baker, a member of the faculty of Indiana University, and director of one of the most successful programs at the college level suggests:

> "Jazz education needs jazz professionals, not classically trained musicians with little or no jazz experience--however much they like jazz. The administration must realize that if the teacher is to fulfill his function, which is not only to teach techniques but also to shape taste and give direction, he must be an expert."[9]

When Baker was further asked: given a cooperative administration, what subjects would he like to see in the jazz curriculum, he answered:

> "I feel that the teaching of improvisation and jazz theory are essential, and I see no reason why jazz theory should not be taught on the level with standard theory. The history of jazz should be included and there should be a style and analysis course in which a student would learn to place in perspective the works of various composers, arrangers and performers."[10]

While the program which Mr. Baker heads at Indiana University appears to be one of substance and definition, the same cannot be said for the many jazz programs which are currently being inaugurated in colleges. Paul Tanner, a member of the Music faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles visited over one hundred colleges, universities and conservatories to determine attitudes, problems and solutions regarding the teaching of jazz in higher education. He found much variation in the manner in which the courses were taught, length of time, size of classes, number of offerings and texts. It is interesting to note in the matter of texts that the five books most frequently used were all published within the last 15 years. The five texts are as follows: Berendt's The New Jazz Book (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), Andre Hodier's Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence (New York: Grove Press, 1954), Gunther Schuller's Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), Marshall Stearns' The Story of Jazz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, New American Library, 1958), and Paul Tanner and Maurice Gerow's A Study of Jazz (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1964, revised 1969).[11]

Another part of the study by Paul Tanner dealt with course offerings in jazz improvisation, scoring and performance. Over eighty percent of the one hundred colleges visited had jazz bands with seventy percent of the colleges allowing academic credit for this activity. In some schools music majors were required to play in performance organizations with no credit allowed. No college was visited in which the jazz band was made up entirely of music majors causing its personnel to be compared with marching band units in colleges in which membership is open to all students. The conclusion of Mr. Tanner's study was as follows:

> "In spite of all the problems, such as time and money, that troubled the students, teachers, and administrators who were interviewed in this study, the future seems to be promising for jazz on the campus. An increasing number of schools are moving beyond the history of jazz offerings for general students to build performance-oriented jazz courses into the curriculum. This study hopefully contributes ideas for the teaching and administration of these programs."12

Another indication of the surge of interest in jazz and popular music is seen in the formation of a new organization known as The National Association of Jazz Educators. This organization, chartered in 1968, proposes to further the understanding and appreciation of jazz and popular music and to promote its artistic performance. The association also provides assistance in the organization and development of jazz and popular music curricula in schools and colleges so that courses of study are included at all levels of instruction. In 1973, the membership was approximately 3,500. In twenty-three states, members have organized state units with elected officers and in twenty-seven states, such units are in the process of being organized. (Its present president is Dr. William Lee of the University of Miami at Coral Gables, Florida.)

As regards degree programs in jazz, the number of schools offering courses of study leading to baccalaureate diplomas is small. The National Association of Schools of Music, which is the sole accrediting agency for departments, colleges and schools of music in the United States, reports that of its 410 member schools, only 12 of them offer a degree in jazz studies. This gives some indication of the caution with which many of these schools are preceding with regard to popular music in the curricula. The same organization notes that instruction in the guitar has increased significantly.

Of their member schools, 13 offer a major in guitar at the bachelor's level and 4 have master's degree programs. The guitar is the most social of instruments and is usually associated with rock groups as well as small jazz combinations.

Conclusions

While popular and folk music appear to be making significant inroads into the instructional program at both the secondary and collegiate levels, classical music still prevails as the predominant body of material for study. The contemporaneous aspect of popular music upon which very little criticism or research has been applied, as well as the frequency with which stylistic differences in music occurs in current performances leaves many teachers without a scholarly basis for approaching these subjects. Increasingly, however, books and materials are beginning to appear dealing with the subject of folk and popular music. This will lead to a greater acceptance of this kind of music in classrooms and a more thorough and academic approach to its instruction.

The pervasiveness of popular music in the life of twentieth century man, coupled with the fact that the art has now become a form of communication, demands that it be reckoned with in our schools and colleges. In this context, it should be permitted to co-exist with and not necessarily displace the music of the past. Popular and folk music can and should be taught in relationship to everything that has preceded its moment of creation, recognizing the fact that no art form exists in a void but is the sum total of the past, the present, the culture, the technology expressed through various individuals.

Historically, music has lagged behind the other arts in development and acceptance. This appears to be equally true within the art form itself. An explanation of this fact may be related to the idea that music is a temporal art and that its impact is perceived aurally. In both instances time and repetition are needed for its understanding and appreciation. It is reasonable to assume, then, that folk and popular music will eventually win acceptance in the schools and colleges of the United States but the process will not be revolutionary, rather one of gradual assimilation of these kinds of music into the mainstream of musical pedagogy. This has always been the plight of the musical art.

Footnotes

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James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961),

Hugh D. Maple, "The Taste of Teens," Music Educators Journal. (January, 1968, Vol. 54, No.5), p. 40.

Simon N. Anderson, "The Role of Rock," Music Educators Journal. (January, 1968, Vol. 54, No.5), P. 87.

Howard Hanson, "Wanted: A Music Survival Kit," Music Educators Journal, (April, 1971, Vol. 57, No. 8), p. 28.

Robert Binklay, "The New Rock and Music Education," Music Educators Journal. (May, 1969, Vol. 55, No. 9), p. 31.

Peter Jansen, "Rock 'n' Roll College," Saturday Review of Education. (March, 1973), p. 5.

Marshall Stearns, The Story of Jazz. (New York: New American Library, 1958), p. 25.

Sister Marie Thomas Keating, "Jazz: A Tanglewood Conversation," Music Educators Journal. (March, 1971, Vol. 57, No. 7), p. 56.

Ibid, p. 56.

Paul Tanner, "Jazz Goes to College-Part I," Music Educator Journal. (March, 1971, Vol. 57, No. 7), p. 106.

Paul Tanner, "Jazz Goes to College-Part II," Music Educators Journal. (April, 1971, Vol. 57, No. 7), p. 93.

Huel D. Perkins
(Editorial Comments)

The second of the articles grouped under the category, Political and Cultural Variances in Systems and Services, treats a cultural phenomenon most prominent in the Black communities of both the U.S.A. and the Caribbean -- music. Assessing the elements of popular and folk music, Dr. Huel Perkins considers their impact upon traditional music curriculum and through the products of such music education, the resulting implications for the future of classical music. The socio-economic implications of music on culture and community pose very challenging considerations for the curriculum planners both in the U.S. and in the Caribbean. The disc jockeys on radio stations, the record industry promotion, the perennial juke-box, the easy-to-own cassette, the dance hall with its constant stream of young talent -- instrumental and vocal, and the recent craze of the rock concert: all these coalesce to challenge the substantive survival of traditional classic music and the continuity of a significant cadre of disciplined, dedicated, formally trained talent which will continue to feed the professional schools of music and to sustain the aesthetic validity of what is considered traditionally as classical music. The emphasis on the guitar as an instrument inextricably bound to the current folk music idiom and the subject of the revolution in musical canons of taste suggest very basic cultural impacts which can not be ignored by the serious music educator. The polarity of the 'adult world' of traditional music and the 'youth cult' of rock rhythm and sound dramatize the dilemma facing the music curriculum designer. The modern mechanical instrumental phenomenon and its function in altering the level of aural perception and the attitudes of the young listener in matters of volume, melody and variety are concomitant subjects of concern to which the present paper does not address itself. Yet these matters are inherent to the larger dilemma of the professional music educator trying to maintain touch with the past, contact with the present and insight into the future for the good of the larger society.

Dr. Perkins discusses Jazz, a musical idiom once pejoratively tolerated, as it takes place in the music

curriculum as an "accepted field of study". By inference, one might expect that Rock 'n' Roll might have a similar fate in future music education. Certainly, the lyrics of Rock 'n' Roll, like those of the Jazz idiom, will have a niche in future folk literature and a significance in future as commentary for social history and sociology. The cultural system examined here by Dr. Perkins provides one avenue for convergence of Caribbean and American cultures into main-stream world music. Again, the author does not explore this point, perhaps because it is one assumed as valid and incontestable. Also, if one role of the West Indian student on the U.S. campus is welcomed and established, it is in the rich musical idiom these students so often translate from their island cultures to the mainland. Music as a cultural system becomes a basic mode of communication, a valid political, social and educational medium for influencing culture and society. As a viable and vital mode of communication, music, as discussed in the present article by Dr. Perkins, presents a communication phenomenon which should be considered carefully and appropriately with the final article in this category, "Communication Needs of a Varied Audience and the Media's Responsibility" by William Dilday, Jr.

Human Resource Development In
Employment and Training
Paper Presented By Juana Lyon

Introduction

Approximately seven years ago, the United States Department of Labor introduced to all its cooperating agencies throughout the nation the concept of Human Resources Development. It was applied to programs administered by the U.S. Employment Service and its delegate agencies in raising the employment standards of members of cultural minority groups. Based on an existing nationwide network of cooperating agencies and carried from the national through the regional to state and local levels of implementation, the so-called HRD (Human Resources Development) emphasis was carried to the grass roots of those communities which had previously had only minimal involvement in the world of work. The total program was supported by a number of federally funded training projects made compatible with local labor market conditions. Analysis of the labor market was also provided by the Employment Service. In fact, local State Employment Service agencies became coordinators and referral agents for the total program concept.

To address man resources development as a universal concept, not tied to established governmental agencies in any particular country, I will omit from this overview those functions or activities which are typical of Employment Service agencies in the United States and substitute a non-specific government or other agency or employer for the project originator.

It is not intended to apply the term "minority" solely on the basis of racial or ethnic difference. The terms "minority culture" or "minority group" used in this paper should be interpreted as referring to members of a group or community whose cultural and economic bases differ from those of the dominant culture of the region or country. Members of a minority culture are usually isolated and often alienated from those individuals forming the dominant society of a specific nation.

Many times, in considering plans for industrial development, natural resources in a particular area form the basis for decisions, and the human resource comes under consideration almost as an afterthought. Where the human element is considered, especially in underdeveloped areas, it often enters into the picture only as a source of cheap labor. Industrial developers often fail to

consider the fact that, for purposes of long-range or permanent productive development, there must be throughly researched, comprehensive total community development and, above all, human resource development to parallel that of the natural resources.

The Human Resource Development Project

The type of human development project under discussion has been utilized in the United States primarily in relation to two sets of local conditions: (1) there is an established business and industrial community offering job opportunities which have not been accessible to members of minority groups due to their lack of occupational qualifications; (2) an industrial enterprise is moving into an area which can provide the necessary labor force if members of the community can be brought to the required skill level.

Human resource development in the area of employment and training consists basically of five major phases: (1) identification of the potential work force; (2) outreach; (3) employability development; (4) placement; and (5) follow-up. Within these major areas, a number of coordinated activities combine to accomplish the desired result. The basic plan for Human Resource Development in Employment can be illustrated: (see chart at end of text).

Identification

The first step in attempting to develop a local labor force is identification of the potential labor force. Identification includes an analysis of the numbers, characteristics, location, and skills in the community. This information can be obtained from: (a) existing pertinent statistical data compiled by any recognized agency working in the fields of health, welfare, education, etc., or community, civic, or social organizations; and (b) in the absence of such statistics, a survey made for that specific purpose, utilizing wherever possible, enumerators from or familiar with the target population.[1]

The Advisory Committee

The human resource development concept must be clearly understood and supported by the community to which it is applied. A project of this nature must not give the

[1]For sample of survey questionnaire see Appendix A.

appearance of having been imposed on the target population by administrative fiat. The leading elements of the community and, ultimately, each individual member, should be convinced that this program can and will be to the benefit of the community. Two universal human reactions assume special dimension in this type of effort: resistance to change and fear or rejection of the unknown or unfamiliar. A human resource development plan confronted with these attitudes in a community is doomed to failure.

After initial contact of project personnel with community leaders, they should be invited to contribute their ideas to the total program by participating in an advisory committee or council. Ideally, such a committee would consist of these community spokesmen, project supervisory staff, representatives of local government, and staff of agencies or organizations capable of rendering supportive services. Where appropriate, representatives of local media might also be included. The composition of the committee should be determined on the basis of local conditions. Any element of the local community or government which can provide significant input or support should be invited.

The advisory committee serves a number of purposes. Prominent among them are liaison with the target population, input and reaction from the local community, coordination of all available supportive resources, evaluation of the project, and perhaps one of the most vital needs: establishment and maintenance of a continuous two-way flow of inforamtion between the project administrators and the target population.

Wherever possible, such an advisory committee should be chaired by a representative of the local community. Should circumstances prevent this, great care must be exercised by a project or governmental representative in the chair not to impose his ideas and values or those of his agency on committee members. The chairman must be sensitive to and respect the personal dignity of community leaders. He must develop the ability to elicit their input because, unlike representatives of a dominant society, members of a minority culture may not volunteer information or may withdraw from confrontation in a subject area with which they are unfamiliar.

Outreach

The whole concept of human resource development among minority groups calls for a person-to-person approach, dealing with individuals, not numbers. Once the

characteristics of the target population have been determined, a comprehensive outreach effort must follow. Whether the individuals to be reached live in urban ghettoes or in rural areas, whether they have had some exposure to the world of work or not, they usually feel and are isolated from the mainstream of their country's society. For a number of reasons, this isolation is generally compounded by alienation from the mainstream. This results in a variety of reactions to recruitment efforts, ranging from mild suspicion and caution to open hostility. Successful outreach must be firmly based on understanding of community characteristics and sentiments and a willingness to depart from traditional techniques.

The first contact with prospective trainees is made through two avenues of out-reach: (1) direct outreach through individual contacts by mobile agency or company personnel, and (2) indirect outreach through the cooperation of community organizations and individuals. The most effective way to conduct outreach activities is through extensive use of staff indigenous to the area and the target population. Individuals employed in this capacity should not only be thoroughly versed in the local language and cultural traditions but must be accepted by and relate to individuals to be contacted. At the same time, they must be thoroughly trained in the practice and objectives of their employing agency and the particular project on which they are working. They are, in effect, the most vital link between the agency or employer and the target community.

In selecting outreach workers, past experience in some type of community contact work among their people, in addition to the criteria listed above, should be considered a qualifying asset. This experience may have been on a paid or unpaid basis, including service as a member of a tribal government or community organization. Decisive factors would be the scope and effectiveness of such community contact. Care must be taken that, in selecting out-reach workers, traditional agency or company qualification standards which are irrelevant to the work to be performed are not rigidly applied and allowed to prevent the employment of an otherwise qualified applicant. The emphasis is, after all, on the individual's ability to reach members of the target population, to gain their understanding and favorable reaction to the recruitment effort, and to act as liaison between them and the employer.

Another important aspect of outreach is utilization of existing community organizations. These may be formally organized, such as community action groups or tribal

governments, or they may be quite informal, such as recognized spokesmen of a particular village or group, clubs, or any other association of individuals which can be enlisted to reach all segments of a community.

Employability Development

Once an individual has been identified as interested, eligible and available as a prospective member of the work force to be recruited, the full range of employability development services swings into action. The concept of employability development literally means bringing the individual to the level where he can function satisfactorily in the type of employment he is interested in.

Adequate function in a particular job requires a combination of job skills, job literacy, and job attitude. Before these can be developed, the individual entering employability development must be assessed in terms of his own interests, actual or potential abilities, and vocational aspirations. In cases where the individual has never been exposed to any type of employment, the first step would be to give him a basic understanding of the world of work. This should be followed by some rudimentary orientation to the main groups of occupations and the training required, followed by information on the current labor market status in his home area, i.e., the type of occupations which are in demand locally. If the prospective employer has already been identified, an overview of the range of occupations offered by this employer, including specific working conditions, should be included.

When the trainee has reached the point at which he must make a realistic occupational choice, he will be assisted by a combination of assessment tools, such as aptitude tests and individual counseling, which includes assisting him to take stock of his own special aptitudes, knowledge, and interests so that he will be placed in a work situation where he functions at his optimum skill and interest level.

Counseling and Assessment

The area of assessment is crucial in ensuring that the worker's skills and interests are correctly identified Erroneous conclusions at this point can lead to misassignment and, consequently, dissatisfaction of the worker and the result that he leaves the job or works at less than his optimum level.

Key persons in the assessment phase are the counselors or other individuals assigned assessment responsibilities.[1]

In working with members of minority groups, the standard mainstream criteria for counselors and counseling must be modified by consideration of the special circumstances and needs of the counselee. Failure to do so will result in failure to communicate and, ultimately, in failure to accomplish the purpose of the counseling process.[2]

Without making reference to any particular group of individuals, it can be stated as a basic, universally valid fact that any individual relates best to someone from a similar background and environment, than to an individual who has developed an acute understanding of the environment.

Professional counselors often advance the theory that a trained counselor can successfully counsel any individual regardless of his background or circumstances. In reality a mainstream counselor and a counselee from a minority culture often appear to be communicating. On closer examination, however, questions and answers may be exchanged but there is no communication in the true sense. In cases where an interpreter must be employed, the problem is intensified.

Where an agency or employer conducting human resource development activities among members of a minority culture insist on a minimum of a bachelor's degree in Social Work or a related field in personnel serving as counselors the addition to the staff of counselor aides or employability aides speaking the language of and relating to the target population is strongly recommended, if an indigenous professional counselor is not available.

[1]Attached under Appendix B is an excerpt from The Human Resources Development Concept, U.S. Department of Labor which outlines that agency's concept of the counseling function in this type of project.

[2]Excellent illustrations of this type of failure are provided in the Navajo Rehabilitation Project Technical Reports, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona 1967. Useful observations on counseling members of the Black, Spanish-Heritage, and American Indian minority groups in the United States are contained in Manpower Services to Minority Groups: A Desk Reference for ES Personnel (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration).

Ultimate objectives of these counseling efforts include development of job related self-knowledge and understanding and of adequate problem solving and adjustment ability without complete dependency on vocational direction from others. More immediate objectives include attainment of a training or work placement which builds on positive motivation for work and develops positive work attitudes. Analysis of the need for supportive or remedial services should also be made by the counselor.

The efforts of the counseling staff can be aided significantly by utilization of any community resource such as volunteers, teachers, and staff of other agencies. Fellow trainees can often be of great assistance in a supportive role.

Attached under Appendix C is an outline of the subject matter which should be included in the scope of pre-vocational training and counseling. These basic concepts may be modified or expanded to meet the needs of the community to which they are applied.

Training

Once the individual's aptitudes, interest, and work motivation have been matched with existing job opportunities and his training needs have been determined, he is referred to the appropriate training program. In the United States, a number of federally funded training programs is available to applicants meeting the respective eligibility criteria. In addition, there are apprenticeship programs under the auspices of labor unions, on-the-job training programs conducted by individual employers, and a multitude of training programs offered by private institutions for a fee. Depending on the training resources available to residents of a particular country, the counselor will schedule human resource development trainees for such training.

Once an individual is enrolled in a training program, the role of remedial and supportive services becomes especially important. It is not sufficient, for example, to teach an individual how to operate a particular piece of machinery. He must also be oriented to work etiquette; he may need eye-glasses or other medical or dental services; his transportation problems must be solved; his basic educational skills may have to be improved; or he may have problems in the area of personal economics and may require basic consumer education. In some instances, he may have a legal problem with which he requires assistance. It is during this phase that the supportive and follow-up activity of the counselor and his effective use of available supportive programs can

often make or break the success of the training effort.

Training plans and schedules must be developed in full consideration of the availability and adequacy of training facilities and instructors. Many jobseekers lose faith and patience if training is delayed. The training experience increases in meaning to the trainee when it is supplemented by field trips which give him the opportunity to see the work he is interested in being performed in the actual job environment.

One resourceful employer in Arizona went to the trouble of producing a television film showing the tasks being performed at the work site, including the noise level of the machinery in operation. This gave the trainee the opportunity not only of gaining a better understanding of the work to be performed but of determining whether he could perform adequately in that environment with that particular noise level.

Job Placement

When both training and counseling staff agree that the trainee is ready to be placed in a particular job, two new phases of activity in his behalf swing into action which are closely related: employer relations and job development.

Effective relations with employers are vital to agencies and job developers attempting to place any individual but especially recent graduates of training programs into permanent jobs. This is doubly important where the trainee is a member of a minority culture and has had no previous employment experience. The prospective employer must have enough faith in the judgment and integrity of the agency or individual making the contact to offer the job applicant the opportunity for which they declare him qualified.

Job development efforts on behalf of an individual who is job ready must emphasize the assets and potential of the applicant rather than attempt to play on the employer's sympathy. However, employers should be motivated to tailor their jobs to the applicant's skills where possible. An employer might, e.g. react favorably to the suggestion that an inexperienced applicant could be trained to follow the employer's customary work patterns rather than coming to the job with preconceived ideas developed during previous employment.

A valuable asset to job development staff is prior analysis of the range and types of occupations used by a particular employer so that applicants can be matched to them. Another aspect which should be emphasized is the need

to develop job openings in which incumbents can learn and advance. This has been called the "career ladder" concept. The existence of a career ladder on which the individual can aspire to a higher level can be a significant incentive.[1]

In the case of a job development effort for a number of individuals of a noncompetitive group or minority culture, acceptance of such job applicants by one or more important employers in the area should be made known to other potential employers and could open many doors. Broad community support of such an effort, along with favorable publicity through the mass media, can also be a positive asset.

Follow-Up

Staff of a Human Resource Development Project must follow the progress of the individual trainee from his or her first contact with the program to job placement and through an initial period of actual performance on the job.

Effective follow-up consists not only of the basic counseling function but of a continuous strong supportive effort in all potential problem areas. These may range from major problems affecting the health or domestic relations of the trainee to relatively minor ones which can accumulate and discourage the individual or take up so much of his time that he has to drop out of the program.

Even after job placement, supportive follow-up is crucial. The individual is now performing in the actual job situation, perhaps for the first time in his life. Although he has had thorough orientation during his training period, the world of work is still unknown territory to him. Many of its routine aspects confuse him, and he is usually tense and unsure whether he can actually measure up to the employer's expectations. Occasional contact with follow-up personnel can reassure him and instill the needed confidence.

Post-placement follow-up with the employer is equally important. Misunderstandings between employer and the new employee can often be cleared up by follow-up staff who understand the cultural background of the employee and can explain attitudes or actions which puzzle or annoy the employer or supervisor. On the other hand,

[1] See Appendix D for illustration of a career ladder.

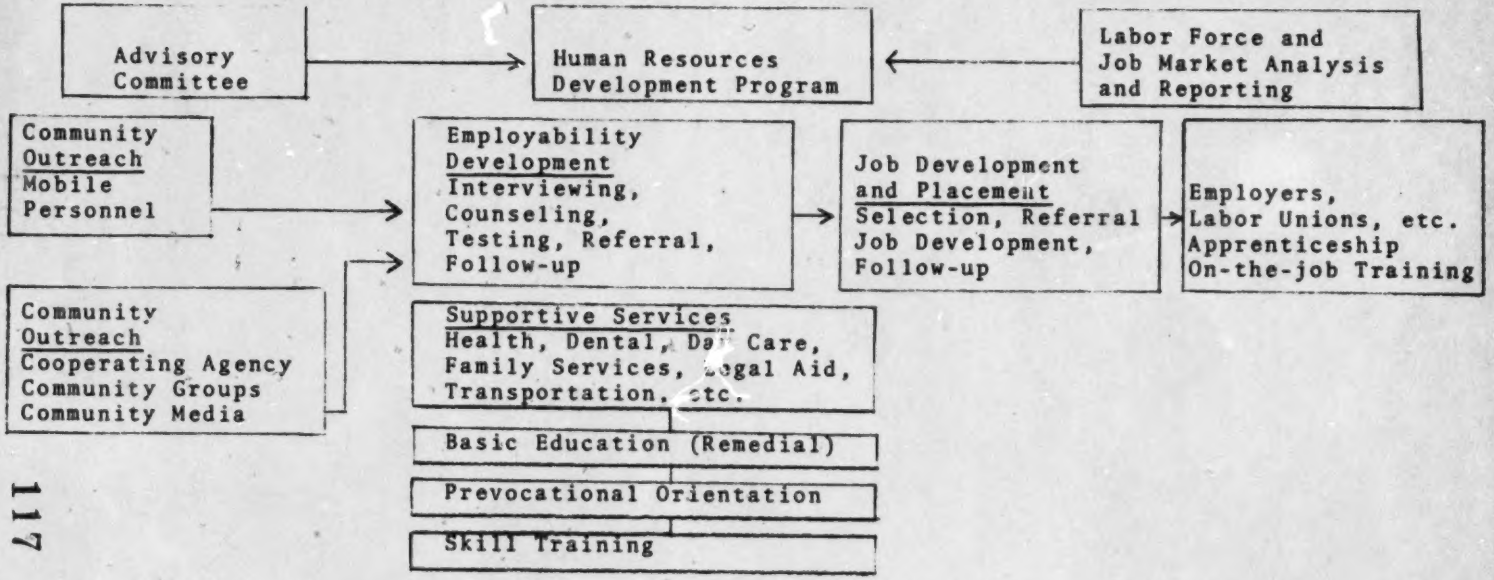
employer grievances can be relayed to the new employee in a tactful manner. The length of time during which post-placement follow-up should be conducted must be flexible in each case and should be guaged by the extent to which the individual is adjusting to the total employment situation.

Conclusion

This overview had to be brief and factual. There was no room for the drama which is implicit in the concept of human resource development. The human element here covers an infinite range not only of national and cultural groups but of human emotions, needs, and aspirations.

The people of any country are its most valuable resource. To develop that human resource to its highest potential not only raises the economic level; the impact is felt in every element of national life. A concentrated effort in human resource development can be one of the most rewarding projects undertaken in any country of the world.

FLOW OF WORK AND RELATIONSHIPS IN A HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM


Advisory Committee
Human Resources Development Program
Labor Force and Job Market Analysis and Reporting
Community Outreach Mobile Personnel
Employability Development Interviewing, Counseling, Testing, Referral, Follow-up
Job Development and Placement Selection, Referral Job Development, Follow-up
Employers, Labor Unions, etc. Apprenticeship On-the-job Training
Community Outreach Cooperating Agency Community Groups Community Media
Supportive Services Health, Dental, Day Care, Family Services, Legal Aid, Transportation, etc.
Basic Education (Remedial)
Prevocational Orientation
Skill Training

NOTE: Any individaul in the program may be referred to employment at any point in the process at which he is regarded ready in line with his training and abilities.

NAVAJO MANPOWER SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE APPENDIX A

Agency _____

Universe

Name: _____

School Dist.

_____

Chapter

Census No.

Highest Grade of School Completed (21-22)

---

1. (To be asked of everybody) Do you have a job now? (If yes, go to 2) yes no (23)
(If no, go to 3)

---

2. (To be asked of those persons with jobs)
A. Who do you work for? Employer's name:
_____ (24)
(If self-employed, write "self")
B. What is your employer's business? _____ (25)
C. Where do you work? _____ (26-27
(Name of community or town
D. What kind of work do you do? _____ (28)
E. How long have you done this work? ____ ____ (29)
yrs. mths.
F. How did you learn your job? _____ (30)
G. Is your job a full-time job? yes no (31)
H. Do you usually work at the kind of job you are doing now? yes no (32)
(If yes, go to 4) (If no, continue to next question)
I. What is your usual job? _____ (33)
J. How did you learn it? _____ (34)
K. When did you last work at your usual job? _____ (35)
L. How long did you work at your usual job? _____ _____ (36)
yrs. mths.
M. When do you expect to work at your usual job again? _____ (37)
(Give best guess, for example, "in April, in spring, or never")

_____
(GO TO QUESTION NUMBER 4)

Juana Lyon
(Editorial Comments)

In considering category III, Political and Cultural Variances in Systems and Services, the importance of human resource development is crucial. In our Caribbean Exchange, we were tremendously fortunate to have as the manpower specialist, a Native American fluent in Spanish and English, in addition to her own Indian vernacular. In her paper, Mrs. Juana Lyon introduced the concept of HRD - Human Resources Development - a major area of potential value to the minority communities represented among the U.S. participants, as well as to the diverse West Indian communities where HRD is crucial to national growth and independence. Earlier, Coley dealt in his paper with agricultural economics in the context of farmers cooperatives of several types; next, Perkins has analyzed the musical idiom as a cultural nexus and a communication system vital to education; now Lyon focuses on the basic problem of human resources, the matching of these resources to the employment needs, the training of the human resource potential, and the counseling essential to job-lacement and "employability development". For the toal development of community, Mrs. Lyon advocates a program of HRD parallel to the traditional systems for natural resources development. She strikes at the root of the problem when she asserts that "the human resource comes under consideration almost as an after-thought". The focal point in this paper is that the human resources should not be considered - as so often it is - as a mere source of labor, and cheap labor at that. In under developed areas and communities of disadvantaged human potential, the intelligent identification, development, allocation and support of available human resources requires "long range or permanent productive development". The importance of an accurate data base, the necessity of removing "resistance to change and fear or rejection of the unknown or unfamiliar", and the indispensable involvement of community leadership as the liaision factor in communicating with the target HRD population are carefully delineated in this persuasive brief on the value of human resource development. The useful appendices provide a well articulated process for guidance and counseling in the area of occupational information and training. For the numerous developing institutions of higher education that are shifting to the cooperative education format as a means of survival, attention to HRD would be feasible and profitable.

Though this particular paper deals objectively with human resource development without specific focus on the Native American population which is the target community in the experiences of this specialist, one of the basic benefits to the U.S. participants going to the Caribbean derived from the opportunity to see this Indian professional demonstrate clearly many of the points in her presentation as she - an Apache - and her Native American colleague, a Flathead lawyer provided for the Black and the White participants insight into the cosmos of American Indian perceptions and the very different demands to be faced, if one is expected to develop the human resource potential among the diverse Native American cultures in the U.S.A. The isolation and alienation factors were sharply drawn as the seminar evolved and the discussions illuminated the challenging issues of raising the employment standards of members of diverse cultural minority groups. The concept of HRD could well be the single thrust of a future seminar and significant cultural exchange.

Communication Needs of a Varied Audience
and the Media's Responsibility
Paper Presented By William H. Dilday, Jr.

Merriam Webster's dictionary defines communciations as the exchange of thoughts, messages or the likes as by speech, signals or writing. The ability to communicate is something we all possess at birth in one fashion or another. From infancy we are able to communicate our wants and our needs to the people around us through sounds. People also communicate through hand, eye, and body signals. The only drawback to these and similar methods of communication is that we must be able physically to see and/or hear another person in order to communicate. However, as time evolved, the dependence upon physically seeing or hearing a person in order to communicate was alleviated. Beginning first with the use of a drum and smoke signals and continuing right up through the wireless to today, we have a new kind of communication medium: electronic signals such as radio and television.

Communication, as common and basic a necessity of life as food and shelter, has matured and expanded to an industry so powerful and so vital that its effect on present day society is incalculable. Hardly a person in the United States passes a day in which he or she is not confronted with or influenced by some form of the mass media. Radio, television and newspapers play such an integral part in our lives that often we are not even aware of the effect these media actually have on us.

A recent study shows television to be the most powerful of all the mass media. In measuring the public's attitude towards the media, this study clearly showed that most Americans consider television the most believable and reliable of all mass media and that it is their major source of news and information.

The 3 major networks, NBC, CBS and ABC, feed nightly newscasts to over 600 local stations which in turn reach over 51 million people per night. This number is even higher during primetime viewing, as television is probably the greatest single source of entertainment in our country today. Because television in this country serves such a large audience with many varied and divergent views and opinions, the people controlling television, both at the network and local level, in their attempts to appeal to a majority of the people, they very often tend to ignore their minority viewers when they plan their programming:

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ignoring them to the point that many of these minority viewers consider television an insensitive and irrelevant medium. For them, TV is a medium which has taken little, if any, consideration of the need of America's minority communities.

Television is such a dominant force in our lives that it is my opinion that individual station licensees must be made cognizant of the interests, needs and desires of their total viewing community and, consequently, must program and operate their stations in a manner that will most effectively serve all of their viewing audience.

As with any other public trust, there is an inherent responsibility in television operation to meet and serve the needs of the people. Because there are a limited number of outlets allocated for television programming, the Federal Government through the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has seen fit to regulate the operation of these outlets to insure that the public interest is served.

Each station operating is issued a license by the FCC to operate. This license must be renewed every three years at which time the station's performance over the past three years is reviewed. If the FCC feels the station's performance has been in the public interest, the station will invariably receive a renewal of its license. However, should the FCC's review of the station's past performance show the licensee has not operated in the public interest, the FCC can refuse to renew the licensee's license to operate the station and award the license to another group or person.

Such was the case with WLBT-TV in Jackson, Mississippi, where the former operators of the station lost their license due to discrimination in programming and employment. Since June of 1971, WLBT has been operated by Communications Improvement, Inc. (CII), a non-profit citizens group for whom I am currently employed.

I think we have truly moved to a position where we are operating WLBT in a manner that clearly serves the varied and divergent needs of our total viewing audience. Before I relate how we went about doing this, I would like briefly to describe the milieu of Jackson and the state of Mississippi. Mississippi is probably the foremost symbol of racial segregation in America. It is a state that was and probably still is infamous for its hard line stand against integration of any nature. It is a state that desegregated its public school system only under court order in 1970. And desegregation rather than integration is truly the right word as integration, particularly in the schools, has never truly taken place.

Many whites rather than send their children to integrated schools, established segregated private academies. Although many of these private academies are not accredited, the prevailing belief among many of these white parents is that any education which maintains the separation of the races has to be better than an integrated system, accredited or not. While desegregation to a degree has come to the state of Mississippi, there are still rural pockets in the state where things are little changed from the 1930's.

According to the 1970 census, 63.8% of Mississippi's population of 2,216,912 is white and 37.2% are Black. There is considerable doubt among many Blacks in the state as to the validity of the census figure. A strong belief persists that many Black residents of the state, particularly in the rural areas, are never counted in the census. In fact, many people believe the population of the state is about 50-50.

Mississippi is a state which is 45% urban and 55% rural. It is the only state in the Union without a compulsory school attendance law, a fact which probably explains why it also has the lowest per capita income of any state in the country. 35.4% of all Mississippians have yearly incomes which fall below the national poverty level. While only 17.9% of the Black residents fell into this category. Jackson is the capital and largest city in the state. Greater Jackson which includes Hinds, Rankin and Madison counties had a total population of 288,634 according to the 1970 census. It is also geographically located near the center of the state, an ideal circumstance for a television signal attempting to provide maximum coverage to the state's residents.

When CII assumed operation of WLBT, it pledged that it would operate the station in a manner that would provide service to the Black community, increase and upgrade the minority employment, present divergent points of view on the air and strive to truly provide service to the viewing community.

We have tried to accomplish this pledge in the following manner:

Employment

Black employment at WLBT has risen from 17% when CII assumed control until it now stands at 40%. The Black employment has spread all over the job spectrum with our management staff 45% Black. This is extremely important because only when Blacks assume decision-making

positions in television will the medium truly be responsiv and sensitive to Black needs and aspirations. CII is proud that racial integration is an accomplished fact at WLBT. It is able to set an example for its community and service area by showing a fully integrated on-air staff and to send into the community both Black and white professionals to work to develop responsive and responsible local television programming.

The majority of the Black employees had little, if any, broadcast experience when they joined WLBT. We are very proud that we have shown that hiring qualifiable Black employees and providing them with on-the-job training is the best way to increase minority employment in television. WLBT has done this and still has been able to operate on a profitable basis.

News

We are aware that many people in our coverage area are extremely critical of the news coverage provided by the local newspapers. We do an hour and fifty-five minutes of local news each day, more than any other station in the state. This is in addition to the NBC national news programs we carry daily.

Last year we added a daily 6:45 a.m., fifteen-minute, live newscast covering local, regional and national news. The primary purpose of this newscast is to provide a service to viewers, particularly in the rural areas, whose occupations necessitate their retiring before our 10 p.m. report and leaving home before our 7:25 a.m. report.

We also initiated a locally produced weekly news magazine called Weekend 3. This program is run each Saturday evening at 6:30 p.m. Weekend 3 was created as a direct result of our ascertainment of community needs, which clearly expressed a need for more indepth coverage of news.

This program is designed to focus on those events occurring in our coverage area which were not "hard" enough to be included in the daily newscast, but which are of interest to the general public.

Programming

While we have very little control over the programs we receive from the network, locally originated programming must be planned to meet the entertainment and informational needs of our viewing audience.

As a result of our ascertainment of community needs and problems, we found that the issues requiring the most urgent attention in our local program planning were the following:

Inadequate Government, including lack of services and unresponsive leadership.

Economic problems, including inadequate housing, unemployment and the need for job opportunities.

Education, especially for preschool children, but including all ages of children and adults.

Health and Welfare issues, including drug abuse; and Race and Human Relations.

We believe the upgrading of our news coverage and staff has provided much more information to our viewers about Government and political activities in the state of Mississippi.

Some of the other ways we deal with the above mentioned issues and others are as follows:

Children's education has and continues to be of special concern to citizens in the WLBT viewing area. In keeping with this concern, WLBT has developed and presents on a daily basis a preschool children's program. Titled "Our Playmates," it is a locally originated half-hour program which is shown at 12:30 p.m. on Monday through Friday.

The program is designed to be child-centered and activity-oriented. Because preschool or kindergarten instruction is administered on a rather irregular basis throughout the state and the Mississippi state legislature, during the current session, as in past sessions refused to consider legislation regulating kindergartens, we are directing a major portion of "Our Playmates" to providing kindergarten teaching and activities for the preschoolers in our coverage area for whom no regular schooling is provided.

We are hopeful "Our Playmates" will significantly reduce the difficult time many youngsters in our viewing area have experienced, particularly those from the rural areas, in attempting to adjust to the structured setting of school.

Our teacher/hostess of the show is required to have a background in early childhood education in order to

provide a solid foundation for communicating with our young viewing audience and to maintain a proper balance between education and entertainment. An interesting feature of "Our Playmates" is that the teacher/hostess is Black and has an integrated group of children on the shows. We hope this will provide a positive Black adult model for our viewing children and also foster racial integration in the state.

Black Programming

The problems of race and human relations in Mississippi are directly linked to inequities in services received by minority group members and the poor. Many, if not all, of these problems are a direct result of decades of racial discrimination.

Because Black people face problems and issues that are unique, WLBT is providing special programming to meet the particular needs of the Black folk in our service area. We are also planning to carry nationally produced Black programming, such as Black Journal. This program can be seen on the educational stations in Mississippi although it mirrors minority achievements and frustrations in America and should be relevant at least to the 64.9% poverty level of Blacks and that 17.9% poverty level of whites, if indeed it is not vital to the total population.

Pumoja is a locally produced weekly half-hour program which is concerned with the culture, lifestyles, aspirations and frustrations of Black Americans with special emphasis on the Brothers and Sisters in Mississippi. While "Pumoja" deals primarily with minority problems, we feel it also serves to inform the white community of these problems and how they are seen from a Black perspective. The show is hosted by a young Black native Jacksonian who is a member of WLBT's Public Affairs Staff.

24K Black Gold is also a weekly half hour program, but its format is vastly different from "Pumoja". "Black Gold" is designed to be a weekly television Soul Party. It provides an opportunity for young greater Jacksonians to dance to the latest hit records and also from time to time it showcases some of the top Black recording artists in the country.

Although conceived as a Black oriented program, "Black Gold" has been well received by both Blacks and whites. In fact, the last few weeks have seen the addition of some white couples to the show. Perhaps enjoying oneself is finally beginning to become colorless in Mississippi

Public Affairs

Public affairs is an area that gives the station some

freedom to pursue the divergent philosophies, views and issues existing within our community and provide a public forum for their airing.

We editorialize as often as possible on what we feel are the issues of importance and concern. It is our belief that this provides information and opinion that is not readily available from other sources, such as our newscasts which by nature cannot take sides on an issue. We also present programming in such public affairs areas as:

National: CII is carrying all public affairs programs presented by the NBC Television Network. This means we carry The Today Show, Meet the Press, First Tuesday, and NBC Reports/America on a regular basis, as well as NBC specials.

Local: Inquiry is a weekly half hour public affairs program. It incorporates political, social and day-to-day newsmakers as guests in an in-depth interview format. Whenever possible, Inquiry attempts to bring together persons of differing viewpoints. Members of WLBT's News Department and Public Affairs Department conduct the interviews.

Mississippi Window is a weekly public affairs presentation of WLBT. Aired at 12:25 to 12:30 each Saturday afternoon, the program features two members of the Public Affairs Department, a Black male and a white female as co-hosts. Handling diverse subjects as alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, local cultural events, housing, the program provides television viewers with timely information about the resources and services available in the community and other useful aids in the daily round of living. Maintaining an easy going, informal format, the program hopefully helps to alleviate the tension and anxieties of individuals and organizations by providing access to the television medium.

We expect to accomplish a second goal in addition to the above in that the impact of a Black and White working together will contribute to racial harmony.

Consumer Reports: Because of increased public concern for consumer information, a high illiteracy rate, and many low-income families in the state, CII has initiated a daily five minute consumer affairs program. This program is included in our daily noon news and information segment. The five minute reports cover a wide range of topics of interest to all consumers, but emphasize economy in daily purchases of the family.

Topics that have been addressed are: meal preparation; information on entering into contracts for purchase; special reports on common frauds being perpetrated within the coverage area; the best time of year to make purchases in relation to the regular cycle of sales in stores; and information on product labeling, truth in lending, packaging, and product hazards.

Religious: We present religion on WLBT which is of an ecumenical nature and which promotes religious harmony and understanding among all religious groups within our coverage area. We plan to present the following programming: A. CII will present a local church service each Sunday between 10 - 11 a.m. on a sustaining basis. This service is rotated among churches of all faiths, denominations and races in the Greater Jackson area and is the focal point in our endeavor to promote an ecumenical spirit in our coverage area. B. WLBT is arranging to carry two CBS shows which are not being carried by the local CBS affiliate. Look Up and Live: Each program is produced in cooperation with a different faith and explores subjects relative to contemporary church ministry. Included are documentaries, discussions and dramas filmed in this country and abroad. The series portrays faith as a dynamic force and relates to the general audience.

Lamp Unto My Feet: The program consists of playets, sometimes religious and sometimes involving human problems, using music, drama and dialogue. A panel discussion follows the dramatic segment with participant experts in their fields. This series is written by professional Broadway and Off-Broadway writers.

Documentaries

WLBT has proposed to present six locally produced documentaries each year on subjects of concern and importance to the viewers in our coverage area. These documentaries will be produced by our News and Public Affairs departments. During the past year we have covered such topics as unwed mothers, community legal aid, pollution and health care. In the future we hope to deal with such subjects as; economic development, education reform, the effects of the program cutbacks on the state, etc.

While we do not propose that WLBT is the ideal example of how a television station meets its responsibility to its community, we do believe we have done a better job in this respect than most other stations. We have shown that a station with community oriented ownership and minority involvement in the decision making process can

be both profitable and responsive to the needs of its varied audience. It might do most other stations well to take a hard look at what has happened in Jackson, Mississippi. They might find some things that could and should be incorporated into their own operations. One thing is certain, the television industry will never be the same as a result of CII's success in operating WLBT.

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William H. Dilday, Jr.
(Editorial Comments)

As the fourth and final piece in the Category, Political and Cultural Variances in Systems and Services, the Jackson, Mississippi television case study by William H. Dilday, Jr., is a distinctive example of a communication service systematized to provide relevant information and entertainment to a varied state audience. In a simple direct exposition, Mr. Dilday discusses the potential impact of mass media today and the vital importance of intelligent and responsible operation of such media to improve conditions for all. As a frightfully powerful "hidden persuader" television - the "most powerful of all mass media" - is described in the context of one station, WLBT-TV. Accepting the premise that television as a public trust should be committed to fulfill the responsibility inherent to its right to operate, Dilday presents the position of an actual manager employed to administer the affairs of a non-profit television outlet, consistant with FCC regulations and documented public needs in the state of Mississippi, the constructive impact of WLBT-TV was a major factor in the decision of the Phelps-Stokes Fund planning staff to include among the professional educators a practicing professional in the career world of communications. As a native of Massachusetts and a resourceful technician, Mr. Dilday is forthright and courageous as he performs daily within the purview of his topic, "Communication Needs of a Varied Audience and the Media's Responsibility". He brings to his task different regional perceptions, cultural mores and communications rationale, having as he does a New England background. The relevance of his experiences in Mississippi for the Caribbean milieu is particularly clear when one considers the composition of the WLBT-TV target audience. Fifty-five percent rural, the only state without compulsory school attendance law. The lowest per capita state income in the U.S., and an ethnic and racial mix unofficially approaching 50-50 - in the opinion of many people in the state. Similar factors are existent among the Caribbean national entities represented in our Exchange. The interest in TV in Jamaica, Haiti and the larger segments of the Caribbean is intense, a fact that Mr. Dilday was able to document during his exchange activities in Haiti and Jamaica. This refreshingly straightforward, practical presentation stands as a challenge to those who would argue that such a mass communication service can not be done with integrity, effectiveness, and efficiency. WLBT-TV proved otherwise.

Taken From Taped Proceedings

Rev. Eddie Burke

I have to be regarded as a typical Jamaican boy, in many respects. Starting life in 1909, when I was bron in about the center of this island, in a little town named Chapleton in the mountain, then the capital of Clarendon Parish. Jamaica, as you must know is divided into 14 areas, which, peculiarly, we call parishes.

My mother told me many years after, that she started a famous private school. Because there was another boy in the same home, and the two of us gave so much trouble to both mothers, they decided we must have some control. This school became very famous, because there are a lot of mothers who have troublesome children of our age, and they are very glad to pitch into this thing.

So I went to primary school until I was about eight, then my mother packed me off to my uncle, who was a teacher. And there I stayed for three and a half years.

I think that some local disease then packed me back to my home town, to be cured. I then went to the local school once more and back to my uncle, and then to my father, who was at another place - because I wasn't legitimate. I'm not. And so I moved around as a little boy; one school twice, another school twice, another school once, in fact, the first school three times.

By this time, I was now 16, I became a teacher for two years in the primary school, because, in those days, there weren't enough teachers. So, if you were bright enough, they used you. I was first a monitor, then you got bigger and you became a supernumerary, and then, from a supernumerary you became a pupil teacher. And at 16,

I was getting paid. I was quite a big and important man. I was getting two Jamaican dollars per month; I was well off.

So I prepared for going to training college for teachers. In those days, we had no university here. As you must have guessed our university has been in existence a short time. So, the highest training in this country was teacher training college, and, once you became a teacher, you were regarded by people as educated. You also were regarded as owing the country something, because your training cost you little, very little.

You were expected to contribute to the country. You came out with that conviction, in fact, you accepted that role when you became a student. And, it was driven into your head for two or three years that you would have a lot to offer.

So there I found myself, at the age now of 22, I was encouraged to apply for a school, with the boys of the country. The school board accepted my application and assigned me to a school 30 miles from here, Porus in the parish called Trelawny, married to one of the most beauteous places in the mountains.

I regarded myself as a highly sophisticated individual, coming from a place like Chapelton, quite a town in Jamaica, and having to settle in a little village. But there I was, in a little school 60 to 70 children, at best, although 80 to 90 were enrolled - but I never entertained any hope of getting all of them out. Most of them came to school on Tuesday and Wednesday, very seldom Monday or Thursday and of course, few of them came on Friday.

My first year and a half in the school room was a total failure having come out of school expecting to have a very distinguished career, having achieved what was called my "honors" - all three years in college, I found out that as a teacher, I was really no good. And, by my second school examination, one of my two senior inspectors had a private word with me, diplomatically, and suggested that I should try some new methods of teaching. Clearly, I had the stuff up here, but I couldn't get it to the students.

He asked, "What methods do you use?" I said, "Well, I use methods common in my day to teach a child. You shout at them; you ask them if they understand; if they say

they do, you go on, if they say they don't, you repeat it. Then the next time that you're taking the lesson, you revise and find out what they remember. If they don't remember much, you use the strap".

You see, I'm a little bit over six feet, and I used these straps and canes to very good advantages. And, my children were heard to utter, while I was caning them, such things as "murder you teacher". Well, I could hardly get them to stop these types of behavior. Though I fully expected it. I felt that I had done the best in all departments. But I really wasn't getting anywhere.

He said, "Well, there is a method called the project method. Have you ever tried that"?

I said, "No, inspector. I only got one lesson on it in college, from the principal himself".

He said, "Well, it is a good method, you know. Why don't you try it".

Trying to enforce the method I have described was not very practical in my school. Everyday I had to confront problems which were simply not compatable with the standard methods.

In that school, one of the main problems was pregnancies. All of the girls got preghant, as soon as they got to age 12. Some were between 11 1/2 and 12. They had to prove themselves and were determined that they were not going to be called mules.

You see, the mule is a creature, as you know, that doesn't repeat his kind. So, my girls got the idea that nobody should accuse them of being a mule, and, from the time they were about four to five, they were started practicing their sex. By the time they were about 11 or 12, when they were getting most attractive, they didn't realize what had happened along this period of time, and got pregnant.

Certainly, I developed some techniques, during this one and a half years and among them was that I visited every child's home, at least two or three times a year. Because, now and then I'd be marking the roll, and I'd say, "Mary Brown", "here, teacher", "Sara, Sara here"? "No teacher". Then I would realize something was wrong. I would visit Sara's home, and her mother would begin to tell me a long story, and I would determine, of course, that Sara is fully pregnant. Quite often, by her adoped father who lives in the home, and who is not her real father - because her mother has five, six, seven children, by different persons.

Anyway, that was one of my problems. So, after the inspector had talked to me, and I decided to try the project method, which I liked. The method is that the teacher and the students choose a project they would like to do. Work projects here very simply means to do something that you would like to do. And they select that thing to do, instead of doing the regular school curriculum and they accomplished it together.

Well, I put this idea to my school, to my little group of children. Of course, we were pals. There were only 60 of us, most times only 30 to 40. And I said, "Children, look" we're not getting anywhere, you know. Inspectors tell me in a very diplomatic way that I'm not teaching you well. And you are not learning anything. But I knew you were not learning for a long time, but I didn't know I was teaching you wrong. Then I threatened to leave them.

"Oh, no, teacher," they said, "you couldn't leave us because we love you, "because I played with them, I tucked them and all those kinds of things. And they loved me.

But, actually, I wanted to leave them because I wasn't getting anywhere. And this inspector is marking me down. I won't be able to become an Assistant Inspector or nothing.

So, I said, "We must try-out something new . There's a method called the project method. That's if we decide to do something together. What would you like us to do"?

It took us about two weeks because each child in the school had his own thing that he wanted to do. But at last, after about two weeks, we came to a joint conclusion that we would build a house.

Most of the houses in the village had one room. In most of them, the children slept on the floor, unless they were wealthy or pretty big, they couldn't get a bed. So they slept in a little room on some type of mattress, which was stuffed with straw.

In school, they read about houses in all the readers -- all the readers were from England, of course, and about things that do not exist in this country, but about which they were compelled to read. They also saw pictures of houses. A home with a bedroom, a second bedroom, a bathroom, and all that. Bathroom, kitchen, veranda.

In their homes there was no bathroom. When you want to bathe, you wait for night to come down, if you are a girl, and if you are growing up, you know, then you go and bathe behind something outside, or in the kitchen. But, if you are a boy, you just bathe any time, anywhere. That didn't matter. If you want to use a toilet, well, you go behind a tree or something, if it is number one, but if it is number two, you go further down into the bush and there you squat. And that was it.

My village was very fortunate that just when I went there, the Americans had a foundation which was doing wonderful work of introducing latrines. So the children were accustomed to latrines, at least. But the latrines were some distance from the house. So they weren't accustomed to a house with a place in it called a toilet, and all these ideas in your head about pulling a chain or squeezing something were very foreign to them.

Having set their minds on building a house, we went to work on deciding on the type of house we would build. So we began working on a plan. It would be about three months before we had completed that much. Everybody was keen on this thing-this house. There was no longer a school. The whole life of what was called the school was the house. And the imagination was running riot.

It took two years to build that house. I'm talking of the years, 1932 to 1934.

So here we were.

I should stop now. Are there questions?

Question: Did the desire to do the house as a project, that you said came from the children, did that affect the families of the community?

Burke: Well, I thought you would come up with that. Anybody else have another question?

Question: I'm curious to how the materials were acquired.

Burke: The materials? Oh, I should have thought of that. This was a miniature house. We built the house to scale - but actually it was nine feet long and three feet wide.

We didn't order the materials, so now, we had to go to the Minister and tell him about this thing. We said, "Parson, we have all materials we want in the village. Anybody could build a house like that. But we got to

have the wood." He said, "Well, the Church has some land over there; you can work with all the wood you want."

Then we went to the Church people. Whenever there was a thing of importance-people had a thing called a stone-laying ceremony. A stone-laying ceremony is a ceremony where you get some stones, some bricks, and you get a person who has a name, then you get some money. We had seen the church do it a few times. And we did the same thing for our school. Then we got some money from that, which helped us to buy cement -- there wasn't much cement used in the island in those days except for major construction and only a small quantity was added to strengthen the local mixture. We also got some money to buy nails. But the money wasn't much. I believe that during the lifetime of the project we did not quite raise ten pounds, which would be 20 Jamaican dollars.

Even when we built the roof of the house, we couldn't buy shingles, because they were too expensive. Instead we got bamboo. We often had to use a lot of ingenuity and creativity, and this time we cut the bamboos in half and hollowed canes and turned them upside-down to make a roof.

We also had to talk to the parents. They got caught up in this, and they were fighting with one another, to help us with our house. But they still thought I was a little touched in the head. And they said, "Poor teacher, with this whole business." They would say to me "You got to beat the children, instead you play with them...You're just like one of them... We don't know which one of you is worse."

But they would help me. For instance, I knew nothing about house building. I should have told you, I grew up in my father's shop - groceries and rum, selling rum and such things - that was my line; not building houses. Until this day, I have to be very careful when I lift a hammer and decide which finger is going to go. But my children went to their parents, and the parents let them have the saws, let them have the plane, and so on. And they came afterwards to help raise the house. That is to line it and get the uprights going, and to get those cross members here. Oh, it was such a thing. Many of the things we did, you know. came down like Humpty Dumpty who sat on a wall. Very many things crumbled. But anyway, we built them again, and we kept going.

To shorten the story, after two years, our house was built; windows, decorated, beds put in, children in the

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house, people in the house, dolls of course, and we had made quite a name for ourselves. The Director of Education himself came down, and quite a big crowd of educators from all over the island. They then started to say that maybe there was something to this stupid teacher that they had. They said this to my fellow teachers, to whom I introduced the method, a year before.

Well, some of you are wondering why I am telling you all this. Is it a boast about myself? No, no. I gather you are looking into this matter of communication.

How can you communicate with people who are in lower grades, who are not developed; who live in backward communities where sex and keeping the belly full were the two main things in the whole village? My problem was how to communicate with the people, how to reach them, and this was a technique we used. It became so successful that I was offered a bigger school in another parish, and I went there. I was glad to go, after four and a half years in this simple place. These people here were very loving and kind and so forth, but I was assigned a school in another city.

This time we took a piece of rough land like over that hill and we decided to cultivate it. We read books, and we used modern methods of agriculture. And we set about our task, and after three and a half years, we achieved it. We converted a hillside, about 60 degrees, into one of the most beautiful gardens in the island.

Anyway, by this time, we had really perfected the project method, as a key to be used to bring parents, children, teachers, and inspectors of schools, together in a working unit. And, to show that a school when functioning well, should saturate the whole community. It should be part and parcel of the community, with the whole community, indicating where it should go, and how and when.

Well, among the people who had been watching me over the years, unknown to me, because many visitors came from all over the islands, and visitors to the island were sent to my school to watch my methods, were those who would invite me to participate in a new and exciting project. But before going into that period, let us briefly review some historical background till about 1938.

The first inhabitants of this island were the Arawaks. They were people who liked a free life. If they wanted to eat something, they caught it in the rivers or in the sea. Otherwise the manioc root just grew about, and

the sweet potatoes, and fruits fell from the trees. You know, it's a situation like Adam and Eve -- they just pick and pare. They are just like children, and they had a wonderful time. So - Christopher Columbus came along, and said, "I am taking civilization to these awful easy-going pleasure-loving lazy people and I'm going to make something of them". He came using the best techniques and technology in those days but the Arawak refused his terms. This was the first form of labor union organization in the world, I guess, and these people resisted to the point of death.

The Spaniards had a good thing down here. So the English thought they should get in on this thing. Once here, they intensified slavery which however had begun long before they got here. An act of Parliament emancipated the slaves in 1833, then slavery was abolished by 1838. The British compensated the landowners, but not the slaves. And the freed slaves had to go from these meadow lands to the hills. And from those days to this, wherever you see lovely pieces of land they usually belong to large companies.

In the year shortly before 1938, a man got, if he was in a very big job, 95 to 30 cents a day, but quite often, he got as little as 10 cents for a day's work. For that day's work, he was expected to report for his work in the morning at 7:00, and to move from work in the afternoon at 5:00. He did not have a lunch break. There was nothing like a lunch break. He took his lunch on the run, in ten or 15 minutes, and he was really expected to work.

A woman earned from 10 cents down to 5 cents. A teacher, like myself, who was eight years out of college, and had made a good start on a academic career received what would to today twenty-two Jamaican dollars a month. I was one of the few persons in the village who could buy two pounds of mean of any kind, two pounds. Most people couldn't buy a pound of meat per week. Most poor people had half a pound of meat per week... for a family of six or eight or ten children.

In May, 1938 the people of Westmorland Parish of St. Thomas at the back end of the island went on strike for the first time in the history of this island. The men who started it were regarded as equivalent to what you would say today, a Communist. On May 22, there was a national uprising. From the Jamaican point of view, it was that day we discovered ourselves for the first time. People began to think with their heads. We said, "We can't live like this; we can't just exist. We must live".

Prior to that, we existed because we were only offshoots of England. We would sing "Britains never shall be slaves." Oh, those were the days. Jamaicans could be slaves though. Now the thinking was changing, and we begin to think, "I'm a very important person. And we are very important people in this village, and in fact, Jamaica is a very, very important place."

Just before the strike in 1932, a very smart man named Norman Manley, who was an attorney and advocate for the Jamaican Banana Producers' Association, was talking one day with Samuel Zemmurray, President of the United Fruit Company, and he suggested to Zemmurray that the United Fruit Company should give back to the people of Jamaica a little bit of the profit they made on the banana.

How he did it, unto this day, remains a mystery, because in all my travels, I have never yet met another capitalist that agreed to working like that. But Mr. Manley got from Zemmurray a promise that he would always give back to this country one American cent from the profits made from each bunch of bananas. At that time Jamaica was one of the chief banana exporting countries in the world.

It is said that Zemmurray told Manley, "I will give it to you if my rival (the Standard Fruit Company) will give it to you also Now the rival was in the city of Boston. Both companies were in the city of Boston, one on this side of the street, one on the other side. So Manley went across the street to the rival company, asked for an interview with the boss, and said to him "You can't allow United Fruit Company, to do a thing like that. I'm going back to Jamaica with their check; I have the check in my pocket; it's going to make you look foolish The poor man swallowed the bait. So he went with this check now back to the first one who sent him, and so got a second check.

In 1937, he had arrived with the equivalent of 25,000 pounds. That would be translated into $50,000, just multiplying by two. But that wouldn't be fair, because money was much more valuable in those days. That would be about $500,000. And Manley was such a great man, for achieving such a great thing.

Mr. Manley convened a board and they sat and asked themselves, "How can we spend such a fortune For a fortune it was - in those days. They met together every month for this purpose, and at last they got some ideas. They were good ideas. "We will have two community centers, with rooms for people to learn various activities

They got the best man they could get for social work and for guidance. His name was E.B. Hallett, an Englishman, who was the Secretary of the YMCA. All of us in this country began to feel that this was the biggest thing that had ever happened. For the first time, we sensed that we were witnessing a national effort.

And it's at that time in 1938, that I was sent for by Mr. Manley and he said to me, "We have started a new company, and need people who can do things on their own, who can initiate. And we have appointed one man, an Englishman to start. We have appointed another man, Evan Donaldson, to start a Guy's Hill Center and we want you. Would you be willing to leave this schoolroom and come to us"?

Well, it was very difficult for me because all my career was in the school which I liked so much. This was so insecure. There was no pension, nothing to depend on. And I was not going to leave the Government and come to work, for a nebulous organization, which could go out of business anytime. And the very next year the war broke out in 1939, and no bananas could be shipped again, and so we had no money. And so our organization could have folded. So, anyway, I decided to go to work with the Jamaican Welfare Limited. I left my second school a few months after, and by 1939, January, I came on this new thing.

There was nothing to guide us because the world was very young in those days; there was not much to guide us. In 1939 they sent me to study programs overseas. I travelled to Canada, where they had a great new program; some of you have heard of it, called the Activities Movement, developed in Nova Scotia.

And then I heard about some work in the United States. Those were the bad days when Negroes got lynched right, left and center. So I didn't have the courage to go further South than Washington. Everybody said to me, "Boy, you just don't go down further than that. You won't get back to Jamaica". Because I came up with this spirit in 1938 and everywhere I went I was giving off this stuff -- I mean I was a very good rebel, and I couldn't tolerate injustices and all this foolishness about skin and inferiority.

I was unique, so I was getting into a lot of trouble, I guess. I think, particularly, in states like Ohio, I love Ohio up till now. I looked at the movements particularly in Chicago and in Ohio. I went to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. There was a little pocket of Negroes in those days doing great work. In fact, there were said

to be a leading group of Negroes doing constructive work to help themselves. But there was not really much the world had to offer in 1939, you know.

A few months later the war broke out and I came back home. When I got back to Porus, this wretched building was on my hands. I was here to work among the people, and that was what I liked. But when I came back and found this building -- I could not have been more disappointed. I had heard of it, and felt that was the wrong way to do the work, and I told this to Manley. I said, "The people should build this for themselves afterwards, but what we need in the beginning is to build the people, or help the people -- to wake them up, like Rip Van Winkle, wake them up, so that something happens right here, in their bellies. And because it's happening here they will want to do things".

The first problem was to find the money to operate it. They said, "That's up to you. We have no more money, and the company is giving us no more money. You will have to find the money to operate it". We charged two cents. Two Jamaican cents. And most people couldn't find one to pay; when that failed, I then gave concerts. In those days to come into a concert was between five cents and ten cents, and many people couldn't find the five cents. So when they couldn't find it, people would climb up and try to look in. You may have been wondering why there are still barbed wires along the walls. They are there to try to keep people out, who are so poor that they can't afford a small amount to come in here. The going was rough. We spent much of our time raising money to keep the edifice and the administration going when really, in truth, we should have been looking after the school, because this side of the work was vital.

Well, I had a building. How to use the building? We put a library in one room; one room was dedicated on certain days for people to discuss things; another area was used for dancing chiefly, and recreation. And cooking we put in one room. Sewing in another room and so on. Then we started to try out different techniques; a lot of techniques. One of the greatest things I had learned in Canada and America was the credit union movement. But I found we had a serious handicap in that most of our people are illiterate, until this day, and that's a big handicap to run a credit union movement in an illiterate society. A very big handicap. But a credit union movement is a little simpler in a way than a cooperative, and it contains a lot of other ideas that can be followed, if you have a few people to do the bookkeeping. So the first rural credit union, of course, and

the first rural cooperative was started here. And there were other projects. Some failed, some succeeded.

But on what did I draw at all times? I drew on what I could, at first -- that's why I told it to you -- the experiences that I had at those schools.

Anyhow, after three and a half years, here, we had done all the spade work, and then I went to another parish and transplanted some of these ideas of improved ways.

Eddie Burke
(Editorial Comments)

To visit Jamaica and to limit our exchange experience to the capital and to the University community would have been a serious mistake. Realizing that, the Phelps-Stokes Fund planners arranged to go to the Porus Community Center where we had the incredibly moving and rare opportunity to meet and learn from Reverend Eddie Burke. Reverend Burke is a veritable "Mark Twain of Jamaica", gifted raconteur and as a perceptive expositor of the rural people. He handled us as his 'children of the classroom'; indeed, his profound experience, commitment and exceptional intelligence made him the Master Teacher and us the innocent pupils transfixed by him and manipulated by him at will. We knew what he was doing and we let him treat us like little ones and loved every moment of it. Here before us was a tremendous human spirit -- patient, perceptive, sensitive, resourceful, indulgent, and puckish. He was without self-consciousness or affectation or hypocrisy. He was a bit of a Jonathan Swift, a Daniel Defoe, a Stephen Crane, a Lewis Carroll, a Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra....all molded into one unforgettable Jamaican educator. Master of understatement, deceptively simple in his conversational charm, blunt but gallant in his plain-speaking, Reverend Eddie Burke taught us about Jamaica by being completely and unmistakeably Jamaican.

His delightful and pathetic picture of his development as a teacher and a community worker holds no one accountable for what happened to him, for he understood and loved humanity and recognized its "right to live and love". Reverend Burke returned to live and work in a rural Jamaican village. He has lived and apparently continues to live "a life so devoid of what we think of as worldly success, of comfort, of money, of freedom from cares and from that common human obligation -- the task of carrying the burdens of others". This "typical Jamaican boy" is after all not really a typical Jamaican; nor is he a typical human being. He stands unique and universal as the grandest example of the teacher and the molder of decent men. We know no better epitaph for our first exchange documentary than this illuminating autobiographical sketch which presents the professional educator as an 'Everyman' -- forever erring, forever learning, forever striving, forever giving and thus getting the greatest gift of all -- the love of his pupils and his people of rural Jamaica.

Name and Address	Discipline	Interests	Participation
Alleyne, Dr. Mervyn State University of New York Buffalo, New York 14222	Socio-Linguistics	Linguistic Continuity in the Caribbean	Resource
Auguste, Mr. Yves Lincoln University Oxford, PA.	Modern Languages		Resource
Bailey, Dr. Beryl Department of English Hunter College New York, New York 10021	Linguistics	Education	Planner/Resource
Baker, Mr. Paige J. American Indian Higher Education Consortium 1832 Corcoran Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009	Administration	Higher Education	Speaker
Baralt, Dr. Guillermo University of Puerto Rico Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico	Social Science	Slavery and Revolutionary Movements	Resource
Benoit, Dr. Jean Pierre V. Financial Policy and Institutions Section United Nations New York, New York			Resource
Bernard, Mr. Hector Jamaican Broadcasting Corp. Kingston, Jamaica		Communications	Panelist

Bonnick, Mr. Gladstone Central Planning Office Government of Jamaica Kingston, Jamaica	Economics		Panelist
Bourgin, Mrs. Mariada Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Department of State Washington, D.C. 20520		International Education	Planner
Breathrett, Dr. George Bennett College Greensboro, North Carolina	Social Science		source
Brown, Mr. Gerald Navajo Community College Tsaile Lake, Arizona	Law	Education	Participant - Barbados
Bryce, Dr. Herrington Joint Center for Political Studies 1426 H Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005	Political Science		Resource
Bryce-LaPorte, Dr. Roy Institute of Immigration and Ethnic Studies Smithsonian Institution Washington, D.C. 20560	Sociology	Immigration	Panelist
Burke, Reverend Eddie Anglican Church Gilnock Rectory Santa Cruz, Jamaica	Education	Community Development	Speaker

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Butcher, Mr. Philip Morgan State College Baltimore, Maryland	English		Resource
Bynoe, Dr. Jacob Faculty of Education University of Guyana Georgetown, Guyana	Education		Participant Johnson C. Smith University
Byuarm, Dr. S.W. Johnson C. Smith University Charlotte, North Carolina	Sociology	Community	Resource
Case, Mrs. Blanche Program Coordinator Phelps-Stokes Fund 10 East 87th Street New York, New York 10028	Administration	Higher Education	Planner Resource
Celestin, Dr. Toussaint Albany Medical College 44 Holland Avenue Albany, New York	Psychiatry		Panelist
Challenor, Dr. Herschelle S. Program Officer The Ford Foundation 320 East 43rd Street New York, New York	Political Science	History	Planner
Chatelain, Dr. Joseph International Bank for Re-construction and Development 1818 H Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.	Economics		Resource

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Clarke, Dr. John Henrik Department of History Hunter College New York, New York	History	Africans in the Diaspora	Resource
Cobb, Dr. Henry E. Southern University Baton Rouge, Louisiana	History	Education African Studies	Resource
Coley, Dr. Basil G. North Carolina A & T Greensboro, North Carolina	Agriculture Economics	Agricultural Co-operatives Rural and Econ. Development	Participant - Dominican Rep.
Cornely, Dr. Paul B. UMW Welfare and Retirement Fund 2021 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.	Medicine		Panelist
Cortada, Dr. Raphael Hostos Community College 260 East 161st Street Bronx, New York	Sociology	Education Ethnicity	Planner
Crick, Mr. J.A. Cornwall College Montego Bay, Jamaica	Education		Participant - Delaware State College
Crusol, Dr. Jean Centre d'Etude Regionales Antilles et Guyane Fort-de-France, Martinique	Economics	Economic Development in the Caribbean	Participant - Southern Univ. Baton Rouge
Cudjoe, Mr. Selwyn 4073 Ely Avenue Bronx, New York 10416		Communications	Planner

Damas, Professor Leon Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Literature	African Studies, Negritude	Speaker
Dilday, Mr. William H. General Manager WLBT-TV Jackson, Mississippi 39205	Management Communications	Local Needs/ Communication	Participant - Haiti
Douyon, Dr. Chavannes State University of Haiti Port-au-Prince, Haiti	Psychology		Participant- St. Augustine Raleigh, North Carolina
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Dreyfus, Mr. Joel Washington Post 1150 15th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005	Journalism	Contemporary Caribbean Culture	Panelist
Dyer, Mr. Derrick Permanent Secretary for Agriculture Hope Garden Kingston 6, Jamaica	Agriculture-Forestry		Planner/Host
Farley, Dr. Rawle State University College Brockport, New York 14420	Economics	Economic Development	Panelist
Fisher, Mr. Walter Morgan State College Baltimore, Maryland	History	Afro-American History	Resource

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Fitts, Ms Katherine Community Health Services Delivery Meharry Medical College Nashville, Tennessee 37208	Health Science	Community Health Delivery	Participant - Jamaica
Fleurant, Mr. Gerves Brandeis University Waltham, Massachusetts			Resource
Forsythe, Dr. Dennis Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Sociology	Intercultural Relations	Panelist
Fox, Mr. Richard Deputy Assistant Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Department of State Washington, D.C. 20520			Host/Planner
Gadsden, Dr. Marie D. Director Washington Bureau Phelps-Stokes Fund 1832 Corcoran Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009	English	International Education	Planner/Hostess Resource
Garrett, Dr. Naomi Denison University Granville, Ohio 43023	Comparative Literature	Linguistics	Resource
Grant, Dr. Anna Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia 30314	Sociology		Participant - Barbados

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Grundman, Dr. Adolph H. Virginia Union University Richmond, Virginia	History		Resource
Hearne, Mr. John Creative Arts Centre University of the West Indies Mona Campus Kingston, Jamaica	Literature		Planner/ Host
Hedgepeth, Dr. Chester M. Director, Interdisciplinary and Humanities Program Virginia Union University Richmond, Virginia 23220	English Humanities	Interdisciplin- ary Education	Participant -Jamaica
Henderson, Dr. Vivian W. Clark College Atlanta, Georgia			Resource
Hines, Dr. Chester Columbia University New York, N.Y.	Library Science		Resource
James, Dr. C. L. R. Professor of History Federal City College Washington, D.C. 20001	History		Speaker
Jean-Michel, Dr. Marc Organization of American States Washington, D.C.	Agro-Economics		Resource

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Johnson, Dr. Erving Agricultural Planning Unit Ministry of Agriculture P.O. Box 480 Kingston, Jamaica	Agriculture Economics	Panelist
Johnson, Dr. Tobe Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia	Political Science	Resource
Johnson, Dr. W. W. St. Augustine's Raleigh, North Carolina	Natural Sciences	Resource
Kittrell, Dr. Flemmie Department of Economics Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Nutrition	Panelist
Knight, Dr. Charles Clark College Atlanta, Georgia		Resource
Lewis, Mr. James E. Morgan State College Baltimore, Maryland	Art	Resource
Long, Dr. Richard Department of English Atlanta University Atlanta, Georgia 30314	Literature	Discussant
Lovell, Dr. John (Deceased) Department of English Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Literature	Panelist

Lyon, Mrs. Juana P. Arizona Department of Economic Security Phoenix, Arizona 85005	Linguistics	Manpower Training	Participant -Dominican Republic
McGinty, Dr. Doris Evans Department of Music Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Music		Participant -Jamaica
McGirt, Mr. Paul Clark College Atlanta, Georgia	Modern Languages		Resource
Maldano-Denis, Dr. Manuel University of Puerto Rico Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico	Political Science		Resource
Marshall, Dr. Bernard Brandeis University Waltham, Massachusetts	History		Resource
Martin, Mr. Sidney Acting Vice Chancellor University of the West Indies Mona Campus Kingston, Jamaica			Resource/ Host
Martinez, Dr. Armando Department of Modern Languages Stillman College Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Modern Languages		Resource

Miller, Dr. Errol Principal Mico College 1 Marescaux Road Kingston, Jamaica	Education		Panelist
Morris, Mr. Mervyn University of West Indies Mona, Jamaica	English Literature		Panelist Participant Morehouse Coll.
Moya-Pons, Dr. Frank Center for Dominican Studies University Catalica Madre y Maestra Santiago Dominican Republic	History		Participant -Lincoln Univ. (Mo.)
Myers, Dr. Samuel President Bowie State College Bowie, Maryland 20715	Economics		Host/Planner
Nichols, Dr. Edwin Center for Studies of Child and Family Mental Health National Institute of Mental Health 5600 Fisher Lane Rockville, Maryland 20852	Psychology		Planner
Nieves-Falcón, Dr. Luis University of Puerto Rico Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico	Sociology	Education Migration	Resource Panelist

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Palmer, Mr. Ransford W. Department of Economics Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Economics	Economic Development	Panelist
Parris, Mr. Ralph Department of History and Geography Bowie State College Bowie, Maryland 20715	History		Panelist
Perkins, Dr. Huel D. Southern University Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807	Music	Humanities	Participant -Haiti
Phillips, Dr. Aubrey School of Education University of the West Indies Kingston, Jamaica			Resource
Pierre-Noel, Ms Lois Department of Fine Arts Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Fine Arts		Resource
Price, Mr. John E. Florida Memorial College Miami, Florida 33054	Music		Participant -Jamaica
Racine, Dr. Marie-Marcelle Department of Foreign Languages Federal City College Washington, D.C. 20001	Modern Language		Planner Panelist

Riviere, Dr. William City College of New York Dept. of Afro-American Studies New York, New York	Political Science		Planner
Robinson, Dr. Prezell President St. Augustine's College Raleigh, North Carolina 27611			Participant -Guyana
Rogers, Mr. Robert Rio Grande College Rio Grande, Ohio 45684	Business Anthropology		Participant -Jamaica
Savain, Mr. Yves Program Coordinator Phelps-Stokes Fund 1832 Corcoran Washington, D.C. 20009	Sociology		Planner Project Coordinator
Scobie, Dr. Harris City College of New York 138th Street & Convent Avenue New York, N.Y.	History	Afro-American Studies	Panelist Planner
Sheppard, Ms M. Daniels Organization of American States Washington, D.C.	Library Science		Resource

Sherlock, Sir Philip Secretary General Caribbean Association of Universities and Research Institutes (UNICA) 27 Tobago Avenue Kingston, Jamaica		Planner Resource
Shorey, Dr. Leonard Lecturer, Department of Education Extra Mural Center University of West Indies Cave Hall, Barbados	Education	Participant - Rust College
Singham, Professor Archie Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Political Science	Resource
Stewart, Dr. Walter E. Mount Holyoke College South Hadley, Massachusetts 01075	Political Science	Resource

Smart, Mr. Hubert Director, Youth Community Training Center Porus, Jamaica	Education		Host
Smith, Dr. Eddie Project Director Community Group Health Foundation 3308 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20010	Dentistry		Speaker
Smythe, Dr. Mabel Vice President Publications and Research Phelps-Stokes Fund 10 East 87th Street New York, N.Y. 10028	Economics		Panelist
Sooklal, Mr. Lessey Department of Management Studies University of West Indies Kingston, Jamaica	Economics	Management Manpower Administration	Panelist

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Swann, Dr. Hazel Internal Medicine & Community Health Department of Health, Education and Welfare Bureau of Community Health Services Washington, D.C.	Internist	Health Service Delivery	Panelist
Sweeney, Mr. John Albert Morgan State College Baltimore, Maryland	Music		Resource
Terwillinger, Mrs. Gloria Director of Learning Resources Northern Virginia Community College Alexandria, Virginia 22311	Library Science	Communications Media	Panelist
Thom, Dr. James T. Bowie State College Bowie, Maryland 20715	Education		Panelist
Walker, Mrs. Ellorine Principal, Merlgrove High School President Elect Jamaica Teachers Association Kingston, Jamaica	Education		Participant/ Rio Grande College Ohio
Williamson, Dr. Thomas T. Southern University Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Economics Agriculture		Resource

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Willis, Dr. Miriam DeCosta Chairperson Department of Romance Languages Howard University Washington, D.C. 20001	Linguistics	Panelist Resource
Wynter, Ms Sylvia Department of Foreign Languages University of West Indies Mona, Jamaica		Speaker

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